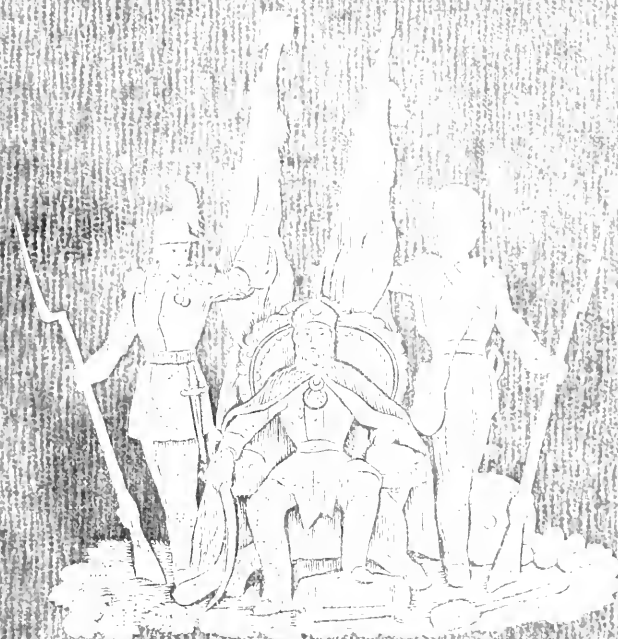


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A HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA
AND THE EAST.

ILLUSTRATED WITH STEEL ENGRAVINGS AND MAPS.

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records of their fathers, to direct and guide their own greatness and that of their children. He deserves well of his country, who, with philosophic temper, patient industry, and genial sympathy with humanity, brings out link by link the golden chain which connects the early enterprise of our ancestors with the manhood and majesty of the great people that now wield the power and exhibit the civilization of the British Empire.

This will be attempted in the work which is now undertaken—A HISTORY OF BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA AND THE EAST. Grateful for the support which the public have afforded to the “History of the War against Russia,” I am encouraged to enter upon this new task. My facilities for the purpose are all I can desire: the best sources of information are open to me, and the advice of men great in counsel and in arms is generously at my service. No tale of romance can

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BY THE AUTHOR OF
"THE HISTORY OF THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA."

"THE leading Journal" has with much felicity called the historian, "a statesman on his travels." Certainly the student of politics will find most ample resources in the pages of history. This is an age in which, at all events in Britain, politics engage the attention of the masses, without the passion and prejudice of former generations. The tinge of party is passing away from the study of public affairs, as hues and shadows fleeting from the face of the waters, leaving their deeps exposed in their own clearness. Men now look into the history of the past, and of their own age, with a more rational and philosophic spirit; and are enabled to contemplate in its calm, clear depths the designs of Providence and the doings of man. The ruins of many empires lie scattered beneath the current of Time, and men might look down and read the inscriptions not yet defaced, and learn the wisdom and the folly of the Past, if it were not that the medium is so often obscured by the clouds and shadows of the Present. It is then a noble and useful object which the historian has in view, when he brings before men the true idea of bygone peoples and powers—disclosing the principles which corroded the heart of social conditions that have ceased to be, and the bases on which rested the pedestals of greatness and glory which once seemed destined to endure for ever. In treating of any portion of English history, the past and the present are so united as to afford the writer a happy opportunity of showing how far the one is influenced by the other, and how far a wise people may glean experience from the records of their fathers, to direct and guide their own greatness and that of their children. He deserves well of his country, who, with philosophic temper, patient industry, and genial sympathy with humanity, brings out link by link the golden chain which connects the early enterprise of our ancestors with the manhood and majesty of the great people that now wield the power and exhibit the civilization of the British Empire.

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furnish the exciting interest of the true story of English Conquest and Rule in India. The wondrous victories of Clive and Wellesley, the intrigues of courts, the subjugations of peoples, the revolts of armies, constitute a series of heart-stirring incidents which, in the same time, can be traced in no other history. From the English settlement to the conclusion of the revolt now deluging Central and Northern India with blood, the course of events will be depicted. Our diplomatic and military affairs in Persia and Afghanistan, and the various wars with China, will properly form a part of the relation. Such a narrative conducts through many a scene of oriental wonder: eastern courts and camps; the glorious scenery of countries revealing every form of beauty and grandeur; the habits, ethical character, and religions of many ancient and extraordinary races; the daring and achievements of the greatest heroes which our country has known—statesmen, soldiers, travellers, and missionaries—must engage the attention. Those who have travelled with me through many a page descriptive of battle and heroism in the “History of the War against Russia,” will not refuse once more to be my companions over the battle-fields of the East, from the shores of China to Cabul and Mahamarah. I shall endeavour to show how PLASSEY was won, and hope to relate how DELHI fell.

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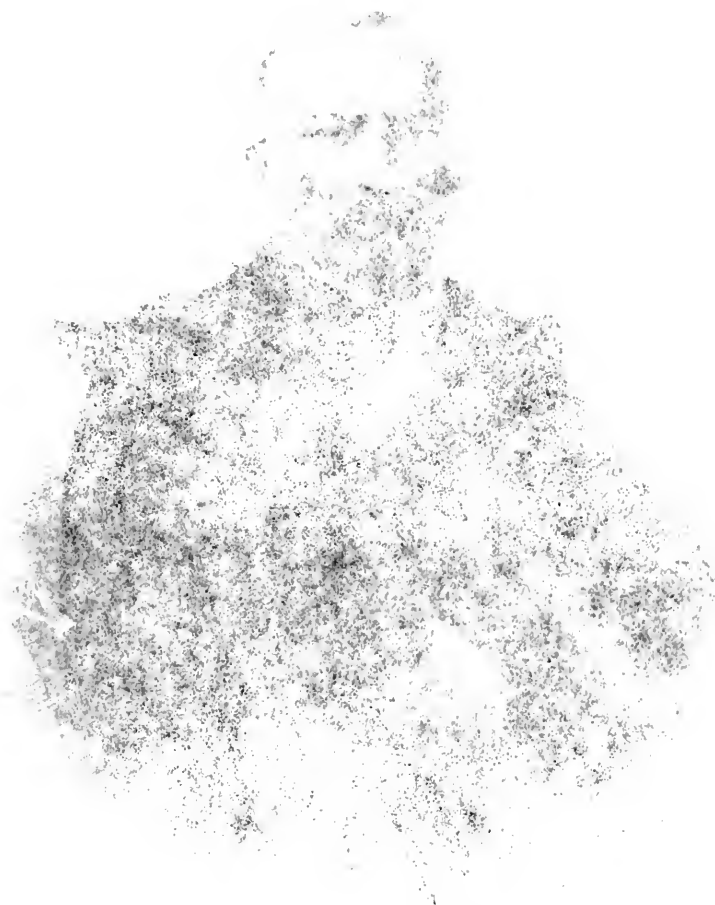
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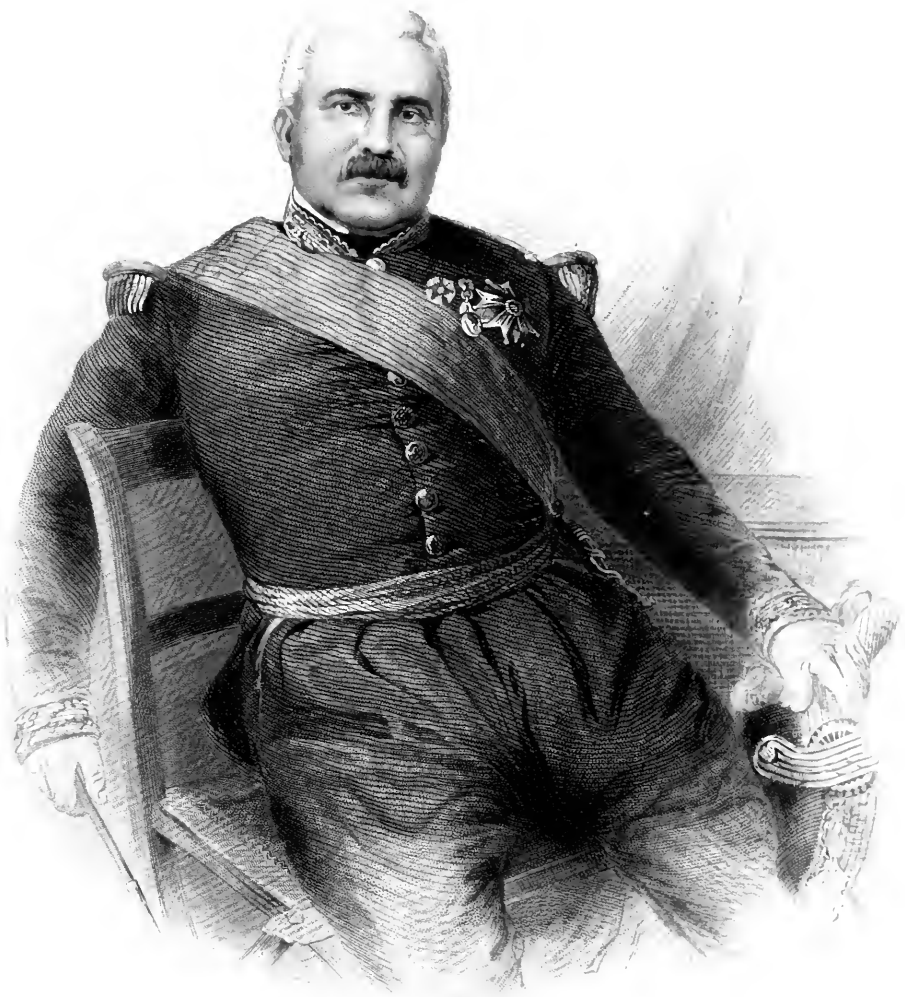
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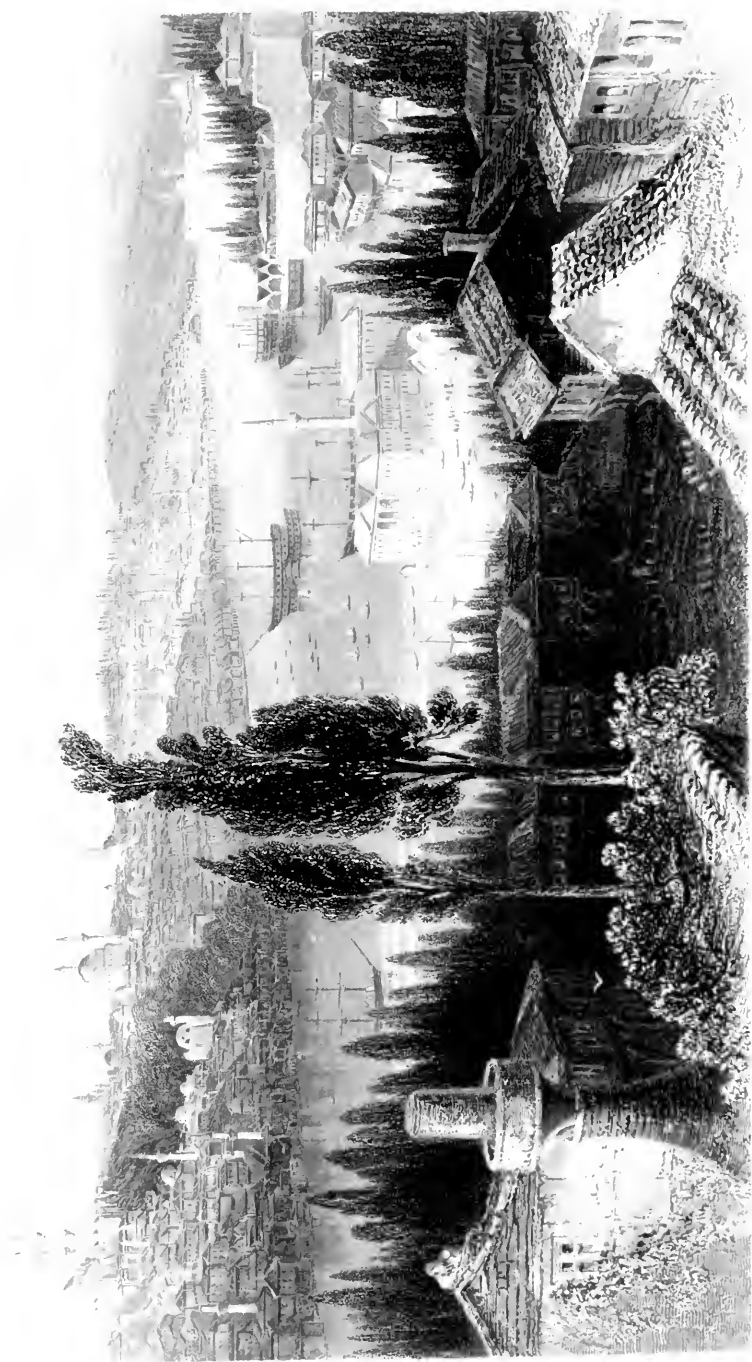
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THE WAR IN ALGERIA

1830-1847



THE BLACK SEA, AND SURROUNDING COUNTRIES





most hard-contested actions of the campaign; this was the attack, on the 1st of October, of the British lines by the Carlist army. The enemy, being driven back with great slaughter, seemed to have given up the idea of resuming offensive operations for the season. In the meantime, however, they intrenched themselves most strongly on the heights in front. The legion being strengthened, General Evans took the earliest opportunity that spring afforded of marching against the enemy. The Orimendi, which was the stronghold of the Carlist works, was attacked on the 15th of March. The British and Spanish regiments which General Evans had selected for this operation were again and again repulsed. At the close of the day the general came up to Colonel Cannon, and asked him if he thought that he could take the Orimendi; he replied that he thought he could do so without firing a shot; he added, however, that he would only undertake the task on one condition, viz., that the general should pledge his word that his men should have their knapsacks before nightfall. This being given, he, having cautioned his men against waiting to fire, made a rush with them upon the Orimendi, their bayonets fixed, and in ten minutes the place, which had held out the whole day against vastly superior bodies of troops, was cleared, and in possession of the British. General Evans immediately rode up to him, and in thanking him for this most valuable piece of service, said, in a joeular manner, "But you fired!" The colonel's reply was, "Only one shot." A musket had gone off by accident."

Owing to the failure of Sarsfield, the general of a division of the Spanish army, to advance against the Carlists in another direction, the whole Carlist army was let loose, and came down, on the 16th of March, against General Evans's force, and the consequence was, it fell back from the positions it had gained with skill and steadiness. Our hero's regiment was not broken on that day, and contributed much to the successful retrograde movement. At the period of these events the subject of our memoir was only a very few years beyond twenty.

On better concert being established between General Evans and the queen's generals, he advanced against Hernani, the head-quarters of the Carlist army, in conjunction with Espartero. The latter had promised a pension of five reals (upwards of a shilling a day) to the first soldier who should get into Hernani. Colonel Cannon's regiment was the first that approached the town. Having brought his brigade, which he now commanded, close up to one of the gates, he jumped upon a sentry-box, sprung over the wall, in a moment un-

barred the gate, and let his regiment in. He was adjudged to be the person who had gained the pension. The town was immediately abandoned by the enemy. The capture of Irun, a very strongly fortified Carlist town, was the next result of this combined movement. In this hard-won action the legion had the largest share, and Cannon's brigade did a great part of this work. It was to him that the commandant of the place surrendered his sword—a trophy which he has still in his possession. The surrender of this place may be said virtually to have concluded the war, and the services of the legion. Large arrears of pay were due to the men. All the men, with the exception of Colonel Cannon's, were sent home without getting their claims settled; the reason of their being more justly dealt with, was the firmness of the colonel. He told the Spanish government that he would not suffer a single man to be embarked for England, until the money due to his men was paid up: this determined language had the desired effect; the arrears of the men were promptly liquidated. Colonel Cannon, in consideration of his services to the Queen of Spain in the war, received the first and second class orders of St. Ferdinand, and that of Commander of the Order of Charles III. He also got the medals struck for the action of the 5th of May, before St. Sebastian, and for the capture of Irun.

The following statement of the general's services in Spain is extracted from the official records of the India House:—

"*Sept. 1, 1835.*—Was present with the force which assembled at Portugalette in the beginning of 1835, and which relieved the city of Bilboa, then closely besieged by the Carlists for several months.

"*Sept. 11.*—Was major in the 6th or Scotch Grenadiers, in the battle fought at Puente Neuvo, near Bilboa, on this day.

"*Jan. 16, 17, 1836.*—Was present in the actions on the heights of Arlaban on these two days, and commanded the 4th regiment.

"*May 5.*—Was major in the 9th Irish regiment at the storming of the lines of St. Sebastian, and battle of Ayeta, where he was severely wounded in the right shoulder and neck; the 9th Irish on this day lost, in killed and wounded, 13 officers and 152 men, although its strength, on entering the field, was only 21 officers, and 473 non-commissioned officers and privates. Received for conduct on this day, the decoration of a knight of the first class of the national and military Order of St. Ferdinand, and promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-colonel. Conduct noticed in general orders.

"*May 22, 1836.*—Appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the 9th Irish regiment.

"*May 28.*—On this day, although suffering severely from wounds, and supported upon his horse, he commanded his regiment, crossing the Uremia, taking the heights of Ometzoyana, and town of Paossages.

"*June 6.*—Was present in this day's action, when the enemy made an attack upon the British lines, where he commanded an advance-post. Conduct for this day noticed in general orders.

"*July 11.*—Present in the reconnaissance and action in front of Fuentarabia, on which occasion he covered the rear during the retrograde movement.

"*July 17.*—Obliged to return to England on account of the wounds which he received on the 5th of May.

"*Sept. 23.*—Rejoined the army in the north of Spain.

"*Oct. 1.*—Was present in this day's action, when the enemy attacked the British lines in great force. Conduct noticed in general orders.

"*March 10, 1837.*—Was present in the battle of this day, where he led the 9th regiment, in column of subdivisions, to the successful attack with the bayonet on the redoubts of Ometzoyana, and captured a standard from the regiment which defended the battery.

"*March 15.*—In like manner this corps, which he led, charged with the bayonet, and without firing a shot, the intrenched heights of Orimendi, and captured three guns. On this day he received a slight contusion over the left breast. Noticed in general orders, and promoted to colonel.

"*March 16.*—Was engaged during the whole of the battle of this day.

"*March 20.*—Appointed to the command of the 9th and 10th regiments, consolidated into one corps of ten companies, consisting of all ranks to nearly 1400 men, and styled the 'Royal Irish.'

"*May 6.*—Present in this day's action, near the house of Aguiri, beyond San Sebastian.

"*May 14.*—This morning led the Royal Irish, and retook the heights of Orimendi; towards the afternoon, led the Royal Irish with the bayonet up to the French gate of the fortified town of Hernani, and was the first to scale the walls, thereby gaining the prize of 10 reals per diem for life, offered by his excellency the general-in-chief, Count Suchona,* several days previous, to the first man who should enter Hernani. Captured the colours of the regiment which defended the town-hall of Hernani, and drove General Gibuelda and his troops out at the opposite gate at the point of the bayonet.

"*May 16, 17.*—Siege and storming of Irun; led the Royal Irish, on the 17th, in by the French gate. Conduct noticed in general orders.

* Espartero, afterwards regent of Spain.

"*May 18.*—Commanded the Royal Irish at the surrender of Fuentarabia. On this day received for conduct in the field, from the 14th of May up to the 18th, the cross of the 2nd class of the national and military Order of St. Ferdinand.

"*May 29.*—Present at the taking of Andora."

He was present in the above-mentioned battles, sieges, and affairs, also several actions of minor importance not here mentioned; likewise at the taking, fortifying, and putting in a state of defence, a number of towns and villages, constructing lines, erecting field batteries, &c. &c., in the north of Spain.

Colonel Cannon had been noticed in general orders for the high state of discipline in which he kept his regiment; he received the 1st class, also the cross of the 2nd class of the national and military Order of St. Ferdinand; a silver medal for the battle of Ayeta and storming the lines of St. Sebastian, also a gold medal for the storming of Irun, for both of which her most catholic majesty was graciously pleased to issue royal decrees. On his return to England he waited upon Sir James Rivett Carneec, Bart., chairman of the honourable the Court of Directors, who was pleased to thank him, in the name of the honourable court, for his conduct in Spain, and, unsolicited on his part, the chairman furnished him with letters to the right honourable the governor and commander-in-chief of Madras.

A statement similar to the above was forwarded to the adjutant-general's office at Madras, in 1839, by desire of the commander-in-chief.

After his honourable reception by the directors of the East India Company, Colonel Cannon returned to India, and the high appreciation of his services by the court of directors, and by the Governor-general of India, led to his appointment as one of the commissioners for the government of the territories of Mysore. Having held this important post for some years, he revisited Europe, and, on his marriage, resigned his appointment. He afterwards became connected with the West Middlesex militia, and in 1853 acted as lieutenant-colonel commandant. On the breaking out of the war between Turkey and Russia, in the same year, he was asked by the Turkish government, through their ambassador here, to take a command in their army. Being joined by some more officers, he proceeded to Constantinople. All those officers, owing to the want of confidence in the promises of the Turkish ministers, gave up the idea of taking service. General Cannon, however, stuck to the object he had in view; and having got two other Indian officers to join and accompany him, was appointed a major-general on the staff of the

Ottoman army in Asia. Before, however, going to the theatre of war allotted to him, he paid a visit to the head-quarters of Omar Pasha at Shumla. Omar Pasha saw reason to think that he would be of service to him, and requested permission from the Turkish government to retain him in connection with the army of the Danube. This was at once granted, and General Cannon, now designated Behram Pasha, was appointed to a brigade of the army of the Danube.

Some time after he had become attached to this corps, he was sent by Omar Pasha to congratulate the princes and generals of the allied armies on their arrival in Turkey, and to arrange a meeting of all the chiefs, both naval and military, at Varna, to decide on the course of operations. This conference determined all the subsequent operations of the war. Meanwhile the Russians were pressing the siege of Silistria, with an army of upwards of 60,000 men, a large and efficient siege-train, and a skilful body of engineers, commanded by Schilders, the most celebrated engineer officer in their army. The garrison, encouraged by the heroism of the pasha, the great military capacity of Colonel Grach, the chief of the artillery and engineer department, and by the gallantry of Captains Butler and Nasmyth (two British officers), was making a very brave resistance: but the works of the Russians were advancing; the numbers of the garrison were becoming much reduced; provisions were failing; the inhabitants were in a state of despair; Silistria was on the brink of being surrendered or taken. Omar Pasha had ordered one body of 5000 men, under a Turkish officer from Shumla, to relieve the place, but it had made an unsuccessful attempt to get in. He determined on a second expedition. This he entrusted to General Cannon. The men immediately under the general were scarcely 5000 when he approached towards the camp of the Russians. Having selected a woody height for his own camp, he continued from that place to annoy the enemy. Hearing that the garrison was all but resolved to yield, he determined to get into the town, if possible. Seeing that it was impossible to fight his way through the Russian lines, which extended all round the place, he fell upon a stratagem which was attended with complete success. He wrote a letter in English to the governor of Silistria, informing him that he would endeavour to enter by a certain gate in front of the Russians next day. He told him that he had 25,000 men, and he expected that he would meet him with 10,000. This letter was given to two Bashi-bazouks, who, in all probability as was intended, fell into the hands of the Russians. The enemy naturally concentrated their forces near the point mentioned in the letter. In the meantime

General Cannon, leaving some hundreds of his men in his camp, to give it the same appearance as it previously had, with a view of strengthening the delusion of the Russians, made a long *détour* to the west during the night, and next morning got safely into Silistria on that side, the Russians only finding their mistake when his rear-guard was getting safely within the circle of forts constituting the outworks of the place. The ground which his little army had gone over was not less than forty-two miles. He found the garrison in a state of despair, and on the point of capitulating: aided by his troops, it however breathed a new life. Convinced that the place could now be held, he determined on energetic measures. The first of these was to make the pasha solemnly swear that he would hear of no surrender. Then the forts were reconnoitred. Captain Butler was that night struck by a ball from a Russian rifle, at the general's side, and was raised by him. The protracted resistance which Gortschakoff now saw the garrison was capable of making induced him soon to raise the siege. Omar Pasha, on hearing of these events, paid a visit to Silistria, and on meeting General Cannon, held out both his hands to him, and said, "*You have saved Silistria.*" He afterwards thanked him, before the Turkish officers, as the deliverer of Silistria.*

On the afternoon of the 6th of July, 1854, the Russians were in camp on the mainland, beyond the island of Mogan, and close to the town of Giurgevo. They had also guns, and twelve riflemen, on the island of Ramadan, opposite to Rustchuk. Early on the morning of the 17th of July, Mogan was occupied by the Turkish troops. Hussein Pasha believed their forces in all to amount between two and three thousand men only; he thought the main body had retired. On the morning of the 7th their tents had disappeared; nothing was to be seen of the enemy, and the pasha said he had information that they had all left. He resolved to cross the river in two places—one opposite Rustchuk and the other higher up the river, and nearly opposite Messai Tabia. He commenced between eight and nine o'clock, *à la Franco*, by sending 300 riflemen over first, in front of Rustchuk; but, instead of forming a strong division of his troops and filling all the boats, the whole issuing simultaneously from the right bank to the enemy's shore, boat after boat was dispatched as they were filled by the troops. A battalion of the 6th regiment followed the rifles, all under the command of Ferek Beker Pasha. With these troops no

* Some additional particulars of the operations around Silistria have been here given: these will render our narrative more complete than the imperfect nature of the available information admitted, when treating of those events.

gabions or sand-bags were sent. Behram Pasha and Captain Burke, R.E., immediately on landing marched to the front with the rifles. The enemy opposed them at once, but were successfully driven back, where they took shelter under a battery, and brought up reinforcements. Behram Pasha, with two companies of rifles, charged the retreating enemy right into the fosse of this battery, where great slaughter took place. Our riflemen, after some time, were obliged to retire, and fell back upon the river and the reserves. At this time the want of gabions and sand-bags was much felt. Lieutenant Ballard advanced with a second body of skirmishers, whilst the rifles were fighting in advance. The reserves should have been formed up, showing a front to the enemy, at the same time a working-party ought to have been employed throwing up intrenchments. Nothing of this sort was done, the consequence was, when the rifles fell back all was found to be in confusion. Fortunately, Ali Pasha arrived at this time with fresh troops, and by his own good example and firmness restored order, and the men commenced to throw up intrenchments. Whilst these operations were going on opposite the town, two battalions passed over in front of Messai Tabia, upwards of a mile higher up the river. Lieutenant-colonel Yaver Bey (Ogilby) came over with the first body of these troops, about 500 men; his object was to form a junction with the other troops, which he successfully accomplished, after meeting with a determined resistance. A detachment of 150 men, belonging to this body of troops, were severely handled at one of the enemy's batteries close to the river, where they made a desperate fight. Captains Arnold and Meynell were killed here; the men running out of ammunition, were forced under the bank of the river, and nearly all killed. No attempt to send reinforcements to this party from the opposite bank was made. The other battalion (for they were sent in three different detachments) met with resistance immediately on reaching the shore; they were hard pressed by the enemy, but showed a bold front, and retired up the bank of the river, fighting well; and although the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of cavalry and two guns, were all directed against our troops, this brave little band repulsed them, and the enemy withdrew. Lieutenant Burke, R.E., was killed with this party, and the Turkish troops lost full 150 men slain. To return to the original position. After a great deal of persuasion Hussein Pasha was induced to send over reinforcements, making the numbers full 5000 men. The whole force, with the exception of the last-named body up the river, now remained at the first landing-place, chiefly composed of the brigade of the gallant Ali Pasha, holding

possession of a battery of the enemy's as the left of their position, their right extending 300 yards down the river, and their front well protected by a creek of water. In this position the Russians, advancing in strong columns from Giurgevo and Slobodsa, made four distinct and desperate combined attacks upon the Turks, but were each time nobly repulsed with great slaughter, the Turkish soldiers rallying from their positions, and charging the Russians at the point of the bayonet. At sunset the action ceased. The Turks were actively engaged throwing up intrenchments all the night of the 7th instant, expecting to be attacked the next morning. The Russians could not have had less than fifteen or sixteen thousand men, with full sixteen guns, engaged. Their loss was great.

Slobodsa, on the same side, was still in the hands of the enemy. General Cannon strongly advised not only the taking of this place, but the following up of the Russian army. Hussein Pasha was averse to any more fighting, and in this view he was encouraged by other officers, who had served in the battle of Giurgevo. Hussein Pasha, in order to give effect to his refusal to furnish troops for following up the Russians, showed a letter of remonstrance to General Cannon. The general persisted in his application, and at length wrung from the pasha his consent to furnish a sufficient force, on the understanding that the general was to give a written guarantee that he would relieve Hussein Pasha of all responsibility, which was readily furnished, and seemed to relieve the pasha from a heavy load of responsibility, who, although a brave and resolute man, wanted confidence in his own capacity for a great command. He was then at the head of an army of 40,000 men—a body of troops requiring considerable experience and power of command. The very next day General Cannon crossed the Danube with fresh troops, and took possession of Slobodsa. The main body of the Russian army, by this time amounting to sixty or seventy thousand men, made a demonstration, but failed to attack the Turks in their new positions. The retreat of the Russians, not only from the Danube, but from the principalities, was the result of these disasters, which General Cannon, without any other aid from the British, excepting five or six officers, was the principal means of inflicting.

When the Turkish army was sent for to assist the allies in the Crimea after the protracted defence of Sebastopol, General Cannon was selected by Omar Pasha to take command of the first division. This he safely landed at Eupatoria. But that place was not in a condition to resist an attack from a large Russian army, which was near it. The French had a party of engineers there, under Colonel d'Osmond, who were constructing defensive

works. These consisted of a ditch, and a loop-holed earthen wall all round the town. General Cannon was satisfied that such a method of fortification was totally insufficient, and remonstrated with the authorities of the allied armies on the subject. His objections were, that these fortifications were too close to the town, and if the Russians broke through any part of them, the whole army could get in at once. Besides, there was a considerable number of windmills outside; these the Russians could easily take, and if so, they could plant guns on them and fire upon the town. His proposal was to construct a horn or powerful redoubt outside of these windmills, on which to mount as many guns as possible. This, if properly manned, would prevent them from getting near enough the town to fire on it. As long as it was held they would not dare to attack any part of the town, for its guns would sweep the whole space around the place. After a great deal of correspondence, General Cannon succeeded in getting his plan adopted, and that of the French engineer officer set aside—the latter seeing reasons to coincide in the general's plan. The attack on Eupatoria shortly after this, by Liprandi, the Russian general, tested the soundness of General Cannon's theory. This horn or redoubt was the point which he first fell upon, and, had he taken it, there can be no doubt that he would have got possession of the town.

In the autumn of 1855, General Cannon was sent by the Turkish government to join the army of Omar Pasha, on the coast of the Black Sea, which was intended for the relief of Kars. On reaching Suchum Kaleh Omar Pasha told him that he intended to make an expedition through Mingrelia to Tiflis, thinking to occupy that place, and thus to draw off the Russians from the blockade of Kars. General Cannon's opinion was that the Turkish army, which was pretty well provided with transport, should be directed on Kars at once, through Erzerum, and he felt convinced that Omar Pasha's plan would be a failure. The route to Kars, *via* Trebizond, had many arguments in its favour; it was the high road, as far as Erzerum,

into Persia, and abundance of provisions and transport were to be had. The result of Omar Pasha's expedition fully justifies the opinion of General Cannon. Had his views been adopted, Kars would have been saved; for it is ascertained beyond all doubt, that Mouravieff had determined, in the event of Omar Pasha advancing on Kars, to abandon the siege.

General Cannon holds the rank of *félik*, or lieutenant-general, to which he was raised, in 1855, in the Turkish army. He has the order of Abdul Medjidié, and medal for the Danube, and another for Silistria. His return to military service in Turkey is extremely likely, as he stands on the best terms with the government and army—his object and mode of proceeding, when in command of Turkish troops, being not to introduce British rules and discipline among them, but to develop and improve those elements of organisation that already exist in the Ottoman army. By working out their own military system, which is after the model of the Russian and French armies, there is no ground for the operation of native prejudices being excited against him, and efficiency is thus much better promoted than by the introduction of regulations, however excellent, from the British school of military science.

It must, however, be admitted that the Turks when disciplined in the British system become very effective soldiers. They form strong attachments to English officers, rendering a ready obedience, and will follow them with a fidelity not surpassed by British troops. They soon acquire the English system of drill, and are exceedingly proud of the acquirement, displaying much soldierly alertness and order. They are more available in throwing up earthworks, perform long marches with less suffering, and with greater rapidity; they can endure hunger better, and are temperate. The vice of intoxication, so unfavourable to the discipline of the English, is nearly unknown among the Turks. They are brave in the field, cheerful on the march, and vigilant sentinels under English command.

CHAPTER CXII.

POLICY AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ALLIES AT SEBASTOPOL AFTER THE CAPTURE.

"One indifferent general is better than two good generals of co-ordinate authority."—NAPOLEON I.

ALTHOUGH divided command was a serious drawback to the successful continuation of the war from the first, it can scarcely serve as a sufficient excuse for the unfortunate want of foresight, and ignorance of the locality, that was displayed by the military authorities after the fall of the south side of Sebastopol. In the first place, it surely can never be explained why a large force from the French army was detached, to make a *détour* by the Valley of Baidar, through intricate passes, in complete ignorance of the natural or artificial positions the enemy was holding; and this in a country as convenient for ambush or strategy as it is possible to conceive, and with which the Russians were well acquainted, while the allies had no knowledge of it. Besides which, it was contrary to the well-considered intention of keeping the sea as a basis of operations—so necessary to an army ill provided with the means of land transport, and deriving its resources from transport steamers. The Valley of Baidar was a valuable acquisition until the fall of Sebastopol, as it furnished an abundant supply of forage and timber; but, after that event, there was no real necessity to retain more space than was strongly entrenched or easily defended.

Now if a demonstration only had been made from Baidar, simultaneously with a naval one against the northern forts, while a descent was effected at the nearest convenient point to the mouth of the Bulganak, an advance might have been accomplished upon Simpheropol, along a plateau which, rising gradually from the sea, extends to within half a mile of that place at an elevation of nearly 100 feet; so that an army approaching would find the town itself and the outlets to Perekop, Karasubazar, the coast at Aloushta, and Sebastopol through Bagtché Serai, in a plain beneath their feet: most of these roads separated from each other by intervening elevations, but the one on the right bank of the Bulganak, approaching to the immediate vicinity of the town, commanding the rest; so that there could be no chance of Simpheropol making any resistance from an attack of this sort.

Much has been said about deficiency of water in this neighbourhood; but this idea arose from none having been found between Eupatoria and Chobatar; whereas, supposing the left wing of an army marching on the Bulganak, with its right wing moving on the right bank of the Alma, a sufficient supply of water would have been secured. In fact, the Bul-

ganak itself has a good supply higher up, which is lost afterwards in passing through the low land. There are water-mills along its course, and numerous farms and villages, with both wells and springs.

The distance from the coast at the mouth of the Bulganak to Simpheropol is under twenty miles; and a strong position might have been entrenched at a considerable elevation, between the two streams which cross the high road to Sebastopol. A railroad with locomotives could have been laid down very expeditiously on an easy incline. Eupatoria would have been invaluable as a *point d'appui*.

It is difficult to suppose that the Russians would have awaited the result of an attempt of this description; for we have reason to believe that they were prepared to evacuate the Crimea, from a report in circulation that they had removed their heaviest artillery to the rear; and from the proclamation of Prince Gortschakoff, showing that he had the imperial authority to evacuate the Crimea whenever he judged it prudent to do so. If we are to place any reliance on the rumour that a telegraphic communication from the war department prevented an attempt like the above mentioned, in consequence of information received of an intended attack on the allies, it is one of the many deplorable mishaps which the Crimean expedition was doomed to suffer, and prevented glorious results.

If the authorities had been sufficiently impressed with the importance of this idea, the expedition to Kinburn might certainly have been deferred. In fact, if necessary at any time, it would appear to have been most judicious to accomplish it in the spring, when there would have been some chance of following it up.

Some are of opinion that it was too late in the season to undertake such an advance as we have above described; if so, what a mistake the first expedition to the Crimea was at a later period; but, considering what a strong position existed at Eupatoria to fall back upon, we do not think it can be maintained that any risk existed; whereas the most important results might have been expected from it. Such a movement would have utilised Eupatoria, where so large a body of troops were kept unemployed.

The generalship displayed by the allies during the siege, but more especially after the fall of Southern Sebastopol, was most severely criticised by the officers of the garrison after

negotiations for peace were opened. Russian gentlemen, military and civil, well acquainted with the topographical character of the vicinity, who were in the Crimea, and even in Sebastopol at the period, have assured the author of the practicability of the strategical undertaking by the Bulganak. They affirm that Northern Sebastopol could have been, and ought to have been taken. Never, perhaps, did a great and conquering army, with unlimited resources behind it, do so little to make victory fruitful. Nine months after the storming of Southern Sebastopol, it was remarked with force and justice:—

“The little tour made by Major Hammersly, Captain Brooke, and Mr. Sinclair, in the north of the Crimea, only demonstrated more clearly the enormous difficulties experienced by our enemies in maintaining their position; it did more; it satisfied every one who heard their confirmation of previous details that if the allies had advanced after the 8th of September, and followed the enemy, supposing they retreated, or forced their position and defeated them in case they stood, the whole Russian army of the south must have surrendered prisoners of war, and that Kherson, Berislaff, Nicolaieff, and Odessa would have been seriously menaced. All the north side, its guns, its garrison, all the *matériel*, all the provisions and magazines of Bagtché Serai and Simpheropol must have fallen into our hands, and about 60,000 or 70,000 men. ‘But why so?’ some one will ask. ‘Could they not have got away?’ Most certainly not. There are but two outlets from the Crimea; the first is by the isthmus at Perekop; the second is by the bridge over the Putrid Sea at Tchongar. The approach to these outlets lies over waterless, foodless plateaux, broken up by deep salt lakes. The wells, which yield a scanty supply of disagreeable water, are profound pits, of which the shallowest is 100 feet, and many are as deep as 150 to 250 feet. They are scattered over the country very sparsely, and they contain but little water. Under such circumstances, the Russians have been obliged to pour in their reinforcements by dribbles; to carry water whenever they wanted to push on even a single regiment, and to take the greatest care of the wells on their way; in one word, it was impossible for them ever to have marched a body of 5000 or 6000 men by either of those routes in dry weather. Imagine how helpless would have been the position of an army of 70,000 or 80,000 men of all arms, broken and dispirited, hemmed in by this salt prairie, and by the waters of the Sivash, and struggling in vain to reach those outlets under a burning sun, and pressed by a victorious enemy! They could not march, nor, if they once got away, could we have pursued; but no general in his

senses would have risked the entire destruction of his army by retreating under circumstances like those from the south of the Crimea; and the Russians confess their position was hopeless had they been attacked and beaten at any point along their lines. It is believed, indeed, by many persons that Marshal Pelissier received orders from the emperor, after the fall of Sebastopol, not to attempt anything further against the enemy, inasmuch as the glory of the arms of France had culminated at the Malakoff, and the prospect of an agreeable peace was visible to the keen eye of the accomplished politician. If such were indeed the case, the czar is under deep obligations to his imperial cousin.”

After all, the glory of the French arms at the Malakoff was that of a surprise, of which advantage was vigorously taken. The French were defeated at all points in the storming of Sebastopol, except at the Malakoff, which was entered without resistance and kept with difficulty. No doubt the French troops, in their various points of failure, did all that troops could do; but there was not such glory as ought to have induced them to rest upon what they had achieved. If the emperor gave any such instructions to Pelissier as the above extract expresses, he robbed the French army of much glory, and his ally of the firstfruits of victory; he sacrificed a great cause to unworthy personal purposes. Certainly the conduct of the French general after the 8th of September justifies such suspicions; and the treachery of certain French statesmen, the ministers of the emperor, would lead to the supposition that they compromised their imperial master in this matter, rather than that he was unfaithful to his ally. It is certain that the English generals, Simpson and Codrington, were desirous of more active proceedings, and that both armies were cognisant that a different policy was desired by their respective governments. There gradually arose, out of this state of feeling, an unfriendliness between the men of the two armies, which was suppressed but not extinguished. In the following letter, written by an American lady to the *New York Journal of Commerce* some weeks after the fall of Southern Sebastopol, this is noticed as it appeared to an impartial observer. The letter is so interesting in its details, as descriptive of the state of Sebastopol at that period, and the relations of the north and south sides to one another, as well as of the allied troops before and in the latter, that we give a considerable extract.

“The weather was charming, and we made two or three excursions, one to head-quarters, and one to Sebastopol. My husband made several inquiries for a vehicle, as the ride on horseback would have been too fatiguing for

me. He met a young English officer one day at head-quarters, and expressed his surprise to him that there were no carriages to be hired at Kamiesch or Balaklava. 'Oh,' said the officer, 'every lady rides on horseback.'—'But,' rejoined my husband, 'there are ladies here—captains who bring their wives with them—who would like to hire conveyances.'—'Ah!' said the officer, in a commiserating tone, 'those sort of people could not afford to hire them if they could be procured!' Notwithstanding, we found that by paying fifteen dollars, a conveyance could be had to carry us to Sebastopol. We therefore started, one pleasant morning about ten o'clock, in a sort of farm-waggon without springs, and having sides that sloped outwards. They put in two wooden boxes for seats, covered with blankets, horse-cloths, and old rugs, which I soon found to my misery were infested with fleas, some of which I carried about with me all day, and finally imported to my state-room. We had two miserable horses, one larger than the other, and a Pole for a driver; and, from the specimen we had of his skill, I should think he had handled the reins for the first time that day. His knowledge of language was confined to his mother-tongue, so that we had no means of communication until we engaged another Pole, who spoke a little French, as half-and-half interpreter.

"We were obliged to go first to the English head-quarters, about six miles, for our pass. You can therefore imagine us, my husband and myself on one box, A—— and my little girl facing us—I with my mantilla about me, and holding my parasol as gracefully as possible, in order to do credit to the sort of people to whom I belonged. We jolted along to General Simpson's, then, turning towards the Valley of Inkerman, passed through the English camp towards the Malakoff Tower. We stopped at a *restaurant* in the English camp, ate a small taste, and drank a bottle of lemonade *gaseuse*, for which we paid ten francs and a-half.

"For two miles before reaching the trenches, the ground was covered with cannon-balls, shot, and pieces of shell, like hail from a hail-storm. On the hill-side we could see innumerable rows of graves. I was surprised to see so few soldiers about the Malakoff and Redan. The fact is, that the forts on the north side are impregnable, unless they can cut off communication and starve them out. The Russians keep up such a hot fire upon the city, whenever they see anything of French or English, that any occupation of it by the allies is out of the question. The Redan we found was a large area of ground surrounded by high embankments of earth, and bags filled with earth. The whole interior was a scene of desolation—the guns dismounted, piles of cord-

age, shot, balls, and bombs in every direction, the earth ploughed up with shells. Thence we walked down into the town, which is a perfect mass of ruins. The walls of most of the houses are standing, but pierced through and through with holes by the bombardment.

"Some fatigue-parties of English were busily engaged in tearing the wood from the houses and carting it to the camp. The houses were built of white sandstone, which resembles marble in its aspect, and in its glory it must have been a beautiful city. We wished very much to cross a bridge of boats built by the French to the quarter of Sebastopol occupied by them, but as our pass was English, we were refused permission. There is a great deal of ill-feeling between the soldiers of the English and French army, and, though the English permit the French to pass through their part of Sebastopol, they will not return the compliment. I tried to find some flowers in the gardens, but did not succeed. It was getting late, so we returned by the Malakoff Tower. This is a fortification within a fortification, but is built of baskets instead of bags, and underneath the embankments are stone cells for the accommodation of the soldiers. There we found all sorts of relics, soldiers' caps, bullets, muskets, &c. You would have been amused to see my little girl hunting about with the same avidity that she does for flowers, muttering with the guide in French, and loading the poor man with bullets and shot till I thought he would fairly drop with the weight of them.

"During all this time the forts on the north side had fired occasionally, and though we saw the smoke and heard the whiz-whiz of a bomb as it passed through the air, we did not trouble ourselves about it, as they did not come in our direction. As we left the Malakoff, my husband would have made a pretty picture, carrying in one hand the armbone and hand of a man he had found; in the other, pieces of shot and shell. Before proceeding far, he added a jawbone to his human relics, intending them as a *souvenir* for Dr. M——. About twenty minutes after leaving the Malakoff, we heard a whiz-whiz that sounded unpleasantly near, and, turning, saw that a shell had fallen directly in the Malakoff Tower, where we had been standing not long before. Soon again another whiz-whiz, and we found that the next bomb had fallen outside the Malakoff, in the very path we had walked in from it. My flesh began to crawl with the agreeable reflection that we had had a narrow escape of being covered with military glory. We seated ourselves in our carts, and requested our driver to take the shortest road to Kamiesch; but as he had been consoling himself with spiritual comfort during our long absence, wishing perhaps

to give us the worth of our money, he drove us about three miles out of our way. The whole country was before him, for there were no particular roads, so he drove along up hill and down dale, while the little breath the jolting of the cart left in my body was expended in an occasional scream of terror at a prospective upset. It was very dark when we arrived at Kamiesch, the evening cold and chilly. We had some difficulty to find a boat, and then to ask permission to pass the guard-ship, so that I was thankful enough to find myself once more on the *William Penn*. We had a very pleasant passage from Kamiesch, and arrived just in time to escape bad weather."

Throughout the month of September the garrison of Northern Sebastopol made every exertion for prolonged defence. They had stores, guns, and ammunition. Twelve new earthworks were run up in twelve days after the 8th, and they were all placed upon points judiciously selected. These were ultimately armed, and cannonaded the southern side whenever there appeared to be any hope of advantage.

A popular and brief account of the state of Northern Sebastopol at this juncture appeared in the *Frankfort Post Gazette* of September 18th:—

"The fortifications bordering the roadstead of Sebastopol on the north forms two distinct sections, some being situated to the west and directed against an attack made from the Black Sea, while the others lie to the south, and converge their fire on Sebastopol and the roadstead. The space separating the two sections of intrenchments is defended by Fort Constantine, the guns of which command both the roadstead and the sea. On the western coast we first meet with the Wasp Battery and that of the Telegraph; then, turning near Fort Constantine, we find ourselves before Fort Catherine, armed with 120 guns, and two other batteries *rasantes* on the border of the bay. The rocky ground, so cut up with ravines, of the southern table-land, rises from the level of the sea by an abrupt ascent. The table-land was, before the invasion, crowned with several batteries, partly cut into the living rock, but since then the whole shore of the bay, as far as the Inkerman Lighthouse, has been covered with earthen intrenchments. Further in the background, in the centre of these works, the summit of the table-land bears the star-shaped fort named Severnaya, but also called 'the Citadel.' Of the fortifications on the line of the Belbek we have no details whatever. All we know is that when, in 1854, the allied army, after the battle of the Alma, marched on Sebastopol, it found the north side unassailable, and was obliged to make the flank march recorded at the time for the purpose of turning Sebastopol and reaching the south side

of the town, which was known to be weakly fortified. This proves that even at that date North Sebastopol was in rather a formidable condition. Since that period they have certainly extended and strengthened the defences of this position; while prolonging them as far as Upper Belbek, they formed an intrenched camp for the Russian army of reserve. At the mouth of the Belbek the allies found, even last year, a regular fort. The forts on the north side are capable of containing a garrison of 25,000 men.

"The new works on the north side are meanwhile progressing very rapidly. Enormous working-parties are engaged upon them. Three new batteries have been commenced on the east of the great Star Fort, between it and the battery, on the verge of the cliff at the entrance to the Bay of Inkerman—the *Batterie du Cimetière*, as the French call it. Two new guns have been added to this last-named work, so that it is now armed with 14 instead of 12 guns. The general character of the new works which have lately been thrown up with so much rapidity by the Russians on the north side is certainly defensive; at the same time some of the works, especially the three last commenced, will perhaps be able to carry their fire into the Karabelnaia suburb, and into that part of the citadel and town which borders on the roadstead. Some of these are finished in all respects but receiving their armament, even the platforms being laid down. In four only are the embrasures not yet pierced. They extend generally in two lines, one line being carried along the heights from the Wasp Fort to Fort Constantine, and having the embrasures directed against the sea on that side, the other line extending along the heights from Fort Constantine to the Cemetery Battery, and looking upon the roadstead of Sebastopol. Several additions and outworks have also been made to the Star Fort. The works generally are of a very solid and massive character, and the rapidity with which they have been thrown up exhibits the remarkable energy of the enemy to which we are opposed. This command of labour appears to be almost unlimited."

Notwithstanding the efforts of the allied squadrons in the Sea of Azoff, recorded in another chapter, stores continually entered Sebastopol, as the telescopes of our officers assured them. The ships of the allied fleets were as unlikely to enter Sebastopol after the reduction of the south side of the city as before that event—the new batteries, as well as those previously existing, foiled any attempt. Whatever the Russians left behind in their flight from the southern side, they took care to carry off all the provisions, for very little were found among the arms, ammunition, and other stores which were taken possession of by the allies.

This seemed to show that either they got all the supplies of that kind away first, or else that they had very little to spare.

A town of tents arose on the north side, within range of the French rockets from Inkerman, but not a rocket was discharged against them, the Russians even appeared confident of impunity so far as the French were concerned. The reason assigned by the French for this inactivity was that the huts were occupied by civilians; this was not the case, except in some small degree, and if it had been, the reason would have been unsatisfactory. We were at war with the civilians of the Russian empire as well as her soldiers, and if the former were found participating in aggressive deeds, even indirectly, our allies were bound by their duty to the alliance to disturb such participants in warlike acts. It was the aggressive spirit of the whole Russian people which had plunged their government in war. All Russia waged war in the name of the autocrat. Why, then, should a camp of civilians, whose hands were building the earthworks, working the forges and foundries, carrying up the ammunition, and organising and operating the skilled labour necessary to an army, be spared from the fire of the French guns? To what purpose did the English destroy the commercial marine stores off Finland, and the nets of the fishermen in the Sea of Azoff, as well as the homesteads of the husbandmen when they contained grain which would have been used to supply the Russian army, if the camp-tents of Northern Sebastopol were to be spared by the French? After the fall of Southern Sebastopol Pelissier assumed a more firm tone to General Simpson, and this was adopted by the French superior officers generally—our chief officers were overruled, Pelissier was virtually commander-in-chief. This general view of the spirit and attitude of the various armies and their leaders will enable the reader to estimate more correctly the detail of events which followed the successful storm of the 8th.

According to Bazancourt 4000 guns were found by the victors. Others were thrown into the harbour before the moment of retreat, those it was supposed might be recovered. The number of projectiles exceeded 100,000, and more than 200,000 kilogrammes (400,000 lbs.) of gunpowder. For a number of days, fatigue-parties were engaged in burying the dead bodies of men and horses which were scattered about in the streets, in the ruins, and partly protruding from beneath piles of rubbish. All the graves had to be covered afresh, and as stench arose from many of the ruins and houses, dead bodies had to be drawn from the lower stories and buried. So dreadful had been the losses of the enemy, that they had to bury their dead where they fell.

Notwithstanding the general ruin, there were large and important structures which the enemy had not succeeded in blowing up—such as the docks and establishments in their neighbourhood; Fort Nicholas, the Quarantine Fort, Fort Alexander, although greatly injured, were not destroyed. We have, on a previous page, related that the docks were constructed by an English engineer, the late Colonel Upton. The barracks and naval stores erected in the vicinity of the Sebastopol docks were projected by a Mr. Ackroyd, architect-in-chief to the Black Sea department. Mr. Ackroyd was an Englishman. Thus to English genius the whole of those great structures owed their formation—docks, barracks, and naval stores.

Their labours did not prevent our French friends from celebrating their victory in every imaginable way, even to the singing of a *Te Deum* in the Sebastopol cathedral. On the 13th, they moved large bodies of troops to the rear, in the direction of Baidar and Tehorgoum.

The English manifested considerable activity at first; or, rather, orders were given as if the English general contemplated very energetic proceedings. Several divisions of the land-transport corps were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to move at a minute's notice. The horse-artillery were paraded in marching order. The heavy field-batteries were moved to the front, for the siege-batteries had been nearly all disabled, except the sailors', which were sent on board. The sappers and miners sunk great mines, to explode the various edifices it was the intention of the allies to blow up. The "unrivalled docks" were especially selected for this treatment. It was curious that, for the first few days, the Russians did not disturb the working-parties, although within range; they directed some guns upon a party of English, who were burning large piles of Russian clothing which were filthy or stained with blood, but they were permitted to proceed unmolested, although the French erected a mortar-battery behind Fort Nicholas, from which they shelled the Russians who were busy at the new earthworks.

While preparations for the destruction of what remained of Southern Sebastopol were making by the allies, speculation as to the prospects of a pretracted occupation of the north side were entertained by the officers of the allied armies, and by the public in Western Europe. A letter written by the correspondent of the *Morning Herald* attracted considerable attention, and although the hopes it excited, that the Russians would be obliged to abandon Sebastopol speedily were not realised, yet its statements were founded to a great extent upon facts, and depicted the trying conditions under which Prince Gortschakoff must maintain the defence.

"About ten years ago, an order came to Sebastopol that the engineers of the works there were to use their utmost endeavours to sink wells on the north side, for the use of the forts there situated. The utmost endeavours were used, but, though thrice renewed, failed. *There is no well, or water of any description, inside the lines of defences on the north side.* A small hamlet of three or four huts on the south of the Belbek has one well, but its waters are too brackish to be drunk. The Russian force now on the north side draws its only supply of water from the river Belbek. Even the government bakeries, which are situated a little in the rear of Fort Catherine, were always supplied with water by lighters built for the purpose.

"In the Star Fort, and the other works on the north side, there are no magazines for provisions, and there are none that could be turned into such, capable of holding even a month's provisions for 20,000 men. Fort Catherine, situated on the great harbour, has large magazines for stores, and from what I have just heard I believe that these are full; but it is quite impossible that these can hold even a month's provisions for Gortschakoff's present army. Besides, this depot is entirely within reach of the allied guns from the south side of the harbour.

"The destruction of the Russian fisheries in the Sea of Azoff, which was carpied at by many as an act of cruelty, has, in reality, dealt a most serious blow to the enemy's hopes of success. Those fisheries contributed at least one-half to the support of the Russian troops in the Crimea, and already this loss is severely felt.

"I am informed, on the very best authority, that Simpheropol is entirely abandoned by all who can fly from it, not from fear of the allies—as to the last the Russians believed, with their priests, that the allies would never capture Sebastopol—but simply from provisions being at famine prices. The immense flocks of sheep with which the Crimea abounded are now almost exhausted. The few that remain have been driven off to the mountains by the Tartars, who fear lest they should be taken away, like the rest, without payment. The consequence is that, even in June last, the most active Cossack foragers, after many days' search, were unable to procure more than two or three sheep. The same fears of the pillage for the support of the army has also prevented the cultivation of barley, and indeed grain of any sort. On the whole, therefore, I am certain that, even if the allies make no attempt to disturb them, it will be utterly impossible for Prince Gortschakoff to maintain anything more than a mere nominal garrison on the north side during the approaching winter."

September died out without any enterprise on the part of the allies, notwithstanding much fussy preparation, great display, and innumerable orders and counter-orders, as if the commanders-in-chief had no fixed purpose or opinions concerning the campaign. The weather was exceedingly fine, scarcely could any weather be more favourable for operations in the field, excepting a few days of rain and storm immediately after the success of the assault. Nothing, however, was effected, because nothing was attempted.

The following despatches will throw but little light upon the conduct of the generals-in-chief; but they are necessary to the connection of the series of military documents connected with the war. The first of these official papers might have been more properly inserted in the chapter of despatches connected with the fall of Southern Sebastopol; it refers, however, to the state of the wounded, which could only be fully ascertained some time after the assault. It is addressed by the inspector-general of hospitals to the English commander-in-chief, and discloses a fact which is not generally supposed—that the losses at the Redan on the 8th of September were less than, on the 18th of June. This might, however, be inferred from the smaller number of troops employed on the latter date, and the partial success which attended the assault; for when the men got under the parapets of the Redan, they were comparatively safe from the enfilading batteries.

"I have the honour to inclose a return of casualties in the attack on the Redan yesterday; and I have much satisfaction in being able to state that nearly the whole of the wounded were brought in in the course of the afternoon and early part of the night, accommodated in either their own regimental hospitals, or in the general hospital in camp, and their injuries promptly and properly attended to by the medical officers. Those men who fell wounded too near to the enemy's works to admit of their removal, were brought in early this morning, as well as such wounded Russians as had been left in the Redan by their countrymen. The list of casualties, though numerous, is not of so serious a character as that of the 18th of June, and I hope many of the wounded will soon be restored to the ranks. The ambulance conveyance, under Captain Pigott's orders, was efficiently conducted, and I have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the care and steady conduct of the drivers in the execution of their duty. Of the skill and attention of the medical officers, both staff and regimental, as well as of those gentlemen who had volunteered their services from the civil hospitals at Smyrna and Renkoi, and

from the General Hospital at Sentari, I cannot speak too highly: and I beg to bring under your notice Dr. Alexander, deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Dr. A. Gordon, staff-surgeon, first class; and Dr. Monat, staff-surgeon, first class; for their able professional aid and zealous exertions in providing for the wants of the wounded, the two former in the light and 2nd divisions, and the latter in the general hospital in camp."

During September General Simpson forwarded to Lord Paumotu the report of General Daeres, who commanded the artillery, and which places in an interesting light the services of that corps:—

"With the successful close of the siege of Sebastopol it becomes my duty to bring before you the share borne by the Royal Artillery, in operations protracted to an unparalleled extent amid extreme difficulty and hardship.

"Notwithstanding the great and frequent obstacles to maintaining a constant supply of ammunition in the batteries, with roads almost impassable for weeks together, and with a very precarious and insufficient transport, there has been no instance in which the commander-in-chief has required the artillery to act where they have been found unprepared, and at the close of each bombardment they have always possessed the means of continuing the fire.

"The officers and men of the siege-train have shown unflinching zeal and cheerfulness in their arduous duties of arming the batteries, frequently under circumstances of great difficulty, and of directing and serving the guns. The ruined state of the enemy's works, and the silencing of their guns, have frequently testified to the excellence of our artillery practice, of which the number of dismounted ordnance found in the captured works opposed to us affords another convincing proof. Our fire has on several occasions rendered important assistance to our allies, which their chiefs have always warmly acknowledged. The state of the parapet of the Redan, which presents throughout one battered and ruined slope, from the interior crest to the foot of the counter-scarp, is a remarkable instance of the effect of a well-directed fire against strong earthworks.

"I have had frequently to lament the loss of valuable officers, among whom I wish to particularise the late Captain Oldfield, who was most zealous and indefatigable in his services in the left attack.

"The great duration of the siege operations, and the number of officers who have come under my notice, forbid me to specify all whom I could wish; and besides the names of some who had served a considerable period before Lieutenant-colonel St. George took command

of the siege-train, I will only add to the inclosed report from that officer that, while some who had served through the entire period have necessarily executed their duties under circumstances of unusual hardship, all have shown the greatest zeal and ardour. The arrival of reinforcements from time to time, up to the last day's fire, of course causes great disparity in the amount of service rendered by different officers and companies, and the earlier period involved much greater toil and endurance than the last few months. These circumstances I have carefully distinguished in a detailed report to the adjutant-general of artillery; but I wish to particularise the following officers, who have served with great assiduity throughout the siege:—Captains Hope, Luther, W. J. Bolton, and Owen; Lieutenants Ruck, Keene, Addison, and Tillard. From Lieutenant-colonel St. George, commanding the siege-train, and his brigade-major, I have received the greatest assistance in carrying out the operations of the siege.

"The duties of the artillery staff have, of course, been constant, arduous, and important. From Lieutenant-colonel Adye, assistant-adjutant general, I have received every assistance that zeal and energy could offer. Captain Field came out with the army in 1854, but from ill health he was obliged to leave it, and joined me in January, 1855, since when he has performed the duties of deputy-assistant quartermaster-general, which have been very onerous, assisted by Majors Fortescue and Gage, very much to my satisfaction. To my personal staff, Majors Hamley and Gordon, I am much indebted for the assistance they have rendered me at all times by their activity and professional knowledge.

"The numerous sick and wounded of the siege-train have been attended to with a degree of skill and interest which I have never seen exceeded, and which has given me particular satisfaction. The state of comfort and order in which Surgeon Bent, who superintended the medical department of the right attack, and Surgeon Fogo, of the left, assisted by Assistant-surgeon Taylor (who has served in the trenches through the whole siege, and whose gallantry was most conspicuous, as well as his skill), have, by their judicious arrangements, kept their hospitals during the greatest pressure of casualties from the enemy's fire and epidemic cases, has frequently called for my thanks and approbation; and I beg to recommend these officers to your notice. The whole medical department has been, since his promotion, under the charge of Surgeon Elliott, who previously had charge of the left attack, and his efforts at all times to provide comforts, and his attention to the sick and wounded, were unremitting.

"The field-batteries have at all times rendered me important assistance in the conduct of the siege, in conveying guns and ammunition to the trenches, on many occasions under a heavy fire; and officers and gunners, supplied by this portion of the force, have frequently done good service on emergencies during the different bombardments.

"I have this moment received two notes from general officers—Windham and Strauben-zee—mentioning the gallantry of Captain Williams during the attack on the Redan on the 8th instant, when he was acting as aide-de-camp to the latter; it was equally conspicuous on the 18th of June, when he commanded the spiking-party. I have great pleasure in bringing it to your notice.

"I will merely add that to the whole of the very large proportion of the corps I have the honour to command, my best thanks, frequently expressed to them before, are again due for the good, zealous, and intelligent services which, conspicuous throughout this trying period, have contributed to the great result a share that will form a most memorable page in the annals of the Royal Artillery."

This report contained an important inclosure from Lieutenant-colonel St. George, commandant of the siege-train:—

"The sixth bombardment of Sebastopol, which commenced on the 5th instant, and lasted until the 8th, having successfully terminated in the occupation of the place by the allies, it becomes my duty, at the close of this long and arduous siege, to lay before you the names of a few of the many who have distinguished themselves during the time I have had the honour to command the siege-train of this army.

"From Captain Campbell, commanding the artillery of the right attack, who has served in the batteries through five bombardments, and exercised his present command in three of them, I have always received the greatest assistance; and the admirable arrangements and indefatigable exertions of Lieutenant-colonel Barker, C.B., commanding the left attack, entitle him to the highest commendation. He has represented to me the able and zealous aid he has received throughout from his adjutant, Captain N. O. S. Turner.

"Among those whose gallant conduct has been perhaps most conspicuous, I beg leave to mention the names of Major Strange (who has served in the siege from the opening of the trenches to the last hour of the attack); of Captain Arbuthnot (who has been twice severely wounded); of Captain Philip Dickson (who has served throughout the siege); of Captains Broughton, Hastings, Clifford, and Williams; and of Lieutenants Ward, Rideout, and C. O. Brown—all of whom have displayed a cool-

ness and a zeal which cannot be overlooked. In a siege of so long duration, where every officer in his turn had frequent opportunities of distinguishing himself, which were never neglected, it is almost impossible to point out the most deserving.

"I cannot speak too highly in praise of Captain Reilly, my brigade-major. Until the termination of the siege he continued the only staff-officer of this large and responsible command: and his able performance of his various and difficult duties has already, I know, received from you the warm approval it deserved.

"I had the pleasure, on the 22nd of August, of representing the gallant conduct of Captains Fitzroy, Hawkins, and W. J. Bolton, on a former occasion, on which representation the commander of the forces made a minute that these officers should not be forgotten. I deeply regret to add that one of them, Captain Fitzroy, was mortally wounded in the batteries on the 8th instant, and died yesterday.

"Captain G. Davis, with twenty men, volunteered to accompany the storming-party on the 8th instant, with spikes; but, as the infantry did not enter the Redan *en masse*, his services were not required. He remained at the head of the advanced sap, where five of his party were wounded.

"I have to thank Major Alexander, Royal Marine Artillery, who with his detachment joined the siege-train in June, for his zealous assistance in the duties of the siege. I have much pleasure in calling your notice to the untiring zeal and energy of Deputy-assistant-commissaries Hayter and Yellon, in conducting the onerous duties of their branch of the service. The former officer, who was a most valuable public servant, was, I grieve to say, killed in the batteries on the 8th instant.

"The medical department of the siege-train, under the able and careful supervision of Surgeon Bent at the right attack, and Surgeon Fogo at the left, assisted by their juniors, of whom I would especially mention Assistant-surgeon Taylor, has been such as to give me the greatest satisfaction. The air of comfort in their hospitals, and the happy appearance of their patients, are sufficient proof of their admirable arrangements and unceasing attention.

"In conclusion, I have the greatest satisfaction in representing the manner in which every officer, non-commissioned officer, and gunner under my command, have made themselves remarkable during the siege for bravery, discipline, and endurance. The state of the enemy's works, and the ruin of the city, show the precision and the vigour with which the fire was maintained by them, the effect of which has undoubtedly been to compel the evacuation by the enemy of a place no longer tenable."

On the 25th the general sent home one of his meagre reports, which was as follows:—

"I have the honour to transmit the report of the principal medical officer for this week, as well as for the week ending the 18th of September, which, by mistake, I omitted to send before. Your lordship will read with satisfaction that the health of the army is all that can be desired; and the marked improvement since the arduous night duties have ceased is very apparent. The troops continue to be employed in the construction of the roads, and in making preparations for the winter, which are greatly facilitated by the fineness of the weather. The enemy have commenced firing into the town, and the troops stationed there for the purpose of performing fatiguing duties have been, in consequence, withdrawn. Large quantities of timber and building material are daily taken from the houses by our troops."

This letter contained some inclosures, which were interesting as revealing the health of the army, and its prospects of efficiency for a winter campaign. Dr. Hall wrote to the general thus:—

"I have the honour to transmit the weekly state of sick to the 15th instant, and have much satisfaction in being able to state that the health of the army continues to improve. During the period embraced by this return, the admission from wounds, owing to the assault of the Redan Battery, have been numerous, and the number of deaths, I am sorry to say, is very considerable; but the cases that remain are, for the most part, doing well, and a large portion of them are of a slight nature, and many of the men will soon be restored to the ranks.

"Cholera continues to decrease, and may now be said to have almost disappeared, and during the present week there has been a diminution of every other form of disease, as will be seen by the following abstract, in which it will be observed that gun-shot accidents are alone in excess over the previous week:—

	This week.		Previous week.	
	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted.	Died.
Fevers	349	15	396	20
Diarrhoea	498	4	561	7
Cholera	21	11	25	20
Dysentery	139	7	169	4
Wounds	1965	150	702	56
Other diseases ..	628	7	481	5
Total	3600	194	2334	112

"The admissions to strength this week have been 7·22 per cent.; last week they were 4·91 per cent. The deaths to strength this week have been 0·40 per cent; last week they were 0·23 per cent. The sick to well this

week is 12·0 per cent.; last week it was 10·96 per cent."

This report is exceedingly interesting, as disclosing the relative influence of disease and battle upon the Crimean army.

During the month of September the sultan sent complimentary letters to the allied chiefs.

The following general order was issued on the 17th of September by the chief of the staff of the British army in honour of the Naval Brigade:—

"The service for which the Naval Brigade was attached to this army having been completed by the fall of Sebastopol, the force has been ordered to rejoin the fleet.

"The commander of the forces heartily thanks the officers, petty officers, and seamen for the very efficient services they have rendered in the batteries, and on all occasions when their aid against the enemy was required; and he has to notice the patience and courage with which, side by side with the soldiers of this army, they have endured the dangers and hardships of nearly a year's duty in the trenches.

"General Simpson cordially acknowledges the obligations he is under to Rear-admiral Sir Stephen Lushington, K.C.B., who so ably commanded the brigade from its formation until his removal by promotion to a higher rank, and to Captain the Hon. H. Keppel, R.N., who succeeded him, and retained the command until the conclusion of this ever-memorable siege."

On the 21st of September an order was published in which the rank and file took deep interest:—

"Her Majesty having been graciously pleased to grant an extra field allowance of sixpence per diem to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of her regular army, when engaged in active operations in the field against an enemy, the same will be issued from the 1st July, 1855, to all non-commissioned officers and soldiers, including the Royal Artillery, Royal Sappers and Miners, cavalry, and infantry of the army now serving in the Crimea.

"The commander of the forces trusts that the troops will make a good use of this addition to their pay, and reminds them of the facilities that now exist for remitting money to England. He hopes that he may have the pleasure of reporting hereafter that the means of obtaining increased comforts, which are thus placed at the disposal of the soldiers, have not been the cause of irregularity or intemperance. Commanding officers are empowered to stop the field allowance of any soldier for a period not exceeding seven days in a proved case of drunkenness. During the period of a non-

commissioned officer or soldier being in hospital, his field allowance will cease, but will be allowed from the day he returns to duty in the field. In all cases in which the pay of a soldier is forfeited for absence without leave, or when any portion of the pay of a soldier is forfeited by a court-martial, his field allowance will be forfeited also."

The Royal Engineers rendered great services during the siege, and received but little recompence or honour. After the siege, during the month of September, General Jones called the attention of Sir James Simpson to these circumstances in several reports, such as the following:—

"The long and eventful siege of Sebastopol having been brought to a successful termination, I beg leave to draw your excellency's attention to the services of the officers of Royal Engineers who have been employed in carrying on the siege works. Many of these officers have been continuously on duty since the 8th of October last, and have been in the trenches 76, 97, and 108 days and nights.

"I beg leave to mention the name of Lieutenant-colonel Chapman, C.B., who has been employed with the army since the arrival of the first detachment at Gallipoli; and since March last, when Colonel Gordon was wounded, and unable to perform the duties of the siege as senior officer of engineers, he has had to make all the necessary arrangements for the daily carrying on of the duties; this has been performed by him in the most zealous and energetic manner, under great exposure to fire, to my entire satisfaction. Major Bent has been doing the duty of director of the left attack since March last; the duties of that officer are very onerous, and these he has performed in a most zealous and praiseworthy manner. During the above period Major Bent must have been under fire twice, if not thrice, in every twenty-four hours. Captain Brown, who was recently severely wounded, performed for some time the office of director of the right attack, and so has also Captain Cooke. Captain Ewart, the adjutant to the Sappers and Miners, has carried on the duties of the parks, which are extremely troublesome, and requiring great attention, in the most zealous and satisfactory manner.

"I do not trouble your excellency with the names of the subalterns of engineers, as they are not eligible for promotion under the existing regulations. Nothing could exceed the zealous and praiseworthy manner in which they have invariably performed their duties. Several have been more than once wounded, and many have died from wounds, or from sickness caused by exposure to the great heat in the trenches.

"I wish to bring prominently under your notice Major Bouchier, my brigade-major, who has rendered me very great assistance throughout the whole siege, and Lieutenant Cowell, my aide-de-camp, who has, during the siege, proved himself most useful by his professional knowledge as an officer of Royal Engineers, and by his general military acquirements. Of the assistant-engineers I cannot speak too highly in praise of the zeal and intelligence they have displayed, and I beg leave to inclose the names of those who, from their long service at this siege, I consider deserving of promotion.

"List of officers of the corps of Royal Engineers, and of officers acting as assistant-engineers, recommended for promotion, as called for by confidential memorandum, dated the 15th of September, 1855:—

"Royal Engineers.—Lieutenant-colonel Chapman; Majors—Bent, E. F. Bouchier, and E. Stanton; Captains—the Hon. H. F. Keane, F. C. Hassard, J. M. Browne, W. W. Montague, A. C. Cooke, E. C. De Moleyns, L. J. A. Armit, C. B. Ewart, W. Porter, L. Nicholson, C. H. Sedley, P. Ravenhill, and G. Ranken.

"Assistant-engineers.—Majors—C. F. Campbell, 46th Regiment, and S. R. Chapman, 20th; Captains—G. Wolsley, 20th, and L. W. Penn, Royal Artillery; Lieutenants—W. Sheehy, 64th Regiment, P. M. Jones, 46th, and J. J. Grinlinton, 4th Regiment.

"List of medical officers, attached to the Royal Engineers and Royal Sappers and Miners, recommended for promotion:—

"Second-class Staff-surgeon G. Hyde, M.D., and Assistant-surgeon J. F. Longhead, Rifle Brigade. [These two officers have been particularly zealous and attentive in the discharge of their duties.]

"Second-class Staff-surgeons H. C. Walshe, M.D., and E. S. Protheroe; Assistant-surgeon G. Sharpe, O.M.D."

Extract from another report of Lieutenant-general Sir Harry Jones, K.C.B., to General Simpson:—

"This long siege of 337 days having been brought to a successful termination, I am extremely desirous to bring under your excellency's notice the services of a most gallant and zealous body of officers. I allude to the subalterns of the Royal Engineers, who, from the constitution of their corps, in which promotion goes by seniority, are never promoted into other branches of the service, which was the reason why I did not include in my recommendatory list the names of those individuals who have particularly distinguished themselves, trusting to the opportunity which would be afforded me of bringing their names

forward specially. During the recent siege the duties of the trenches fell very severely on the subalterns of engineers; throughout the whole of the winter they were constantly on duty, and, as their numbers were small, the tour of each individual returned at short intervals—nothing but great zeal and spirits carried them through the severe work they had to perform.

“The following short statement will enable your excellency to see how a subaltern of engineers was called upon to do duty in the trenches, several more than once wounded, and others contused. The following figures refer to some of the survivors:—33 days, or nights, 108 ditto, 32 ditto, 46 ditto, 97 ditto, 62 ditto, 65 ditto, 78 ditto.

“It must be borne in mind that these tours of duty always brought the individual under fire, and in the winter months they were exposed to all the severities of the season. Several of the subalterns distinguished themselves on several occasions in the attacks upon rifle-pits, quarries, &c. Such services, I trust, will not be allowed to pass without reward.”

“The following are the names of the officers who particularly distinguished themselves:—

“Royal Engineers.—Lieutenants H. De Vere, A. A. C. Fisher, H. C. Elphinstone, G. Neville,

W. O. Lennox, W. C. Anderson, G. Graham, G. Philips, C. N. Martin, C. G. Gordon, and J. F. Donnelly.

“Minute of inspector-general of fortifications.—‘I would strongly recommend Lieutenants Stopford, Cowell, Pratt, and Drake being added to this list.’”

“I can most conscientiously corroborate every word expressed by Sir Harry Jones. The arduous and always dangerous duties in which the engineer officers were continually employed have all along, during this siege, been deserving of my praise and admiration. Their untiring perseverance and frequent acts of gallant conduct are beyond all praise, and I here desire to record my high approbation of these officers named by Sir Harry D. Jones, and my strong recommendation of them to Viscount Hardinge's favour.”

This ended the month of September, and such were the condition and operations of the victorious armies. The autumn was far advanced, and the people of Western Europe began to manifest uneasiness lest another winter would have to be endured on the bleak plateau before Sebastopol. Another chapter will reveal the remaining events of autumn around the conquered city.

CHAPTER CXIII.

OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER AT SEBASTOPOL.—RETIREMENT OF GENERAL SIMPSON, AND APPOINTMENT OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CODRINGTON TO THE COMMAND-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

“The course of the campaign was so peculiar and exceptional, that it is not easy to say what military lessons have been derived from it.”—COLONEL HAMLEY.

OCTOBER is the “second summer” in the Crimea; no month in the year is so agreeable in that climate. The armies of the allies were enabled therefore to make great progress in any works which they thought necessary for their security and efficiency, if compelled to stay another winter in the quarters they then occupied. Roads were made; the railway was rendered still more efficient; the gabions were taken from the parapets of the trenches, and used or stored for fire-wood; and the English cavalry were ordered to Constantinople, there to winter; proving that the generals were unable, or their governments unwilling, to prosecute an autumnal campaign towards the interior of the Crimea. A curious specimen of British military mismanagement occurred in the arrangements for cavalry quarters. While the transports were preparing for the removal of the regiments constituting that force to the Bosphorus, reinforcements for these regiments were arriving from home at Balaklava!

The destruction of the houses and public buildings in Sebastopol went on vigorously; but the process was often interrupted by shells from the northern heights. Two powerful Russian mortars, which had been captured by the French, responded to this bombardment with potent effect. The French and English threw up batteries near Forts Alexander and Paul, but were disturbed by a cannonade from the enemy, who fired from Fort Michael, the Little Severnaya, and from the harbour Spur Battery. The labours of the Russians in strengthening their positions continued to be prodigious; new batteries were erected on the slopes of the hills south of the Belbek. What their hopes or views were at this juncture it is difficult to glean; but many evidences were given that they did not contemplate their off-boasted scheme of driving the allies into the sea. A letter from a Russian merchant in Odessa to a correspondent in the Austrian capital, and which was published in the *Vienna*

Military Gazette, throws some light on the feeling among intelligent men in Southern Russia as to the prospects of the war, as seen from a Russian point of view.

“It is noticed with suspicion that the governor-general of the Crimea has countermanded and prohibited the further introduction of provisions and goods into that peninsula, on the ground that the stores already accumulated there are in excess. It is also thought singular that the reinforcement of the army in the Crimea has been suspended. Whatever explanation may be given of these facts, the universal opinion of the public here is that things are going on badly in the Crimea, and that we are on the eve of great events. The loss of Sebastopol we cannot get over. People ask why something was not done on the Tchernaya during the last three days of the bombardment. It might not have averted, but it would have delayed the fall of the place, and the shock caused by the event would have been less when at last it must take place. Why, they say, was not Nachimoff encouraged in his noble desire to go out with the ships, and sacrifice grandly in battle a fleet which was known to be doomed to destruction? It would have at least gained the respect of the enemy, and perished with honour.”

“What we know of the positions occupied by the army in the Crimea is gleaned from the statements of travellers and couriers, but all their statements agree. They tell us that the main body of the Russian army occupies a line from Duvankoi to Avankoi, Bagtché Serai, and Simpheropol, and that strong cavalry corps are advanced from Sarabus, by way of Les and Tulat, on the road to Eupatoria.”

During the month of October a considerable number of officers, especially superior officers, returned home on sick leave, although the troops were generally healthy. Among the retiring officers none was more regretted by the army than Colonel Noreot, of the Rifle Brigade. The colonel was son of the late General Sir Amos Noreot, of the county of Cork, in Ireland, who commanded the troops in Jamaica with so much usefulness during the transition of the coloured people of that colony from slavery to freedom.

During the early part of October, preparations for the expedition to Kinburn enlivened the camps, and afforded officers and men some prospect of active service, which was eagerly desired. Such was the spirit of enterprise in both armies, that volunteers could be had for any undertaking, however perilous.

A commission was appointed for the purpose of valuing and dividing the stores and munitions of war captured in Sebastopol, and pursued their scrutiny often under the fire of the enemy. The members of this commission were:—

ENGLISH.

Captain Drummond, R.N.
Brigadier-general Dupuis, R.A.
Major Staunton, R.E.
Commander F. Martin, R.N.
Assistant Commissary-general Crookshank.
Captain Shaw, R.A.
A. Rumble.
Lieutenant Buller, R.N.
Captain Montagu, R.E.
Assistant Commissary-general Lundy.
Captain Dickson, R.A.
A. W. Johnson, Secretary to the Commission.

FRENCH.

Mazure, Général d'Artillerie.
Feldstraß, Capitaine du Génie.
Laurent, Lieutenant de Vaisseau.
Cicoza, Capitaine d'Artillerie.
Gontier, Adjoint à l'Intendance.
De Calae, Capitaine d'Artillerie.
Cadurst, Chef de Bataillon du Génie.
Genoux de la Coche, Capitaine de Frégate.
La Cabrinère, Sous-intendant.

At the beginning of October the British army was in renovated condition and numbers. The infantry were reputed to be 27,000; the cavalry, 3500; and the artillery, 9000; in all nearly 40,000 men. Mr. Russell says this army was nearly as large as that with which Wellington fought the battle of Vittoria. It was scarcely half the strength of Wellington's army, unless Mr. Russell excludes the Portuguese and Spaniards under the duke's command. The army in the Crimea, although healthy, was very inferior in discipline and physical vigour to that which the great British captain commanded at Vittoria, and to that which Lord Raglan possessed encamped under his command in Turkey. Mere boys, and men fifty years old, were sent out after the fall of Southern Sebastopol.

On the 3rd of October the commanders-in-chief of the allied armies were presented with honours from the sultan—the order of the Medjidié of the first class, and magnificent sabres, incrusté with diamonds and precious stones.

Prisoners were taken by the allies in the early part of October, especially by the Sardinians and Turks, in the neighbourhood of Baidar and the Tchernaya. Deserters also made their way from the Russian camp; all these men were badly clothed, their coats especially being in tatters; they complained of being weak from want of food, and represented the army as very short of provisions, in consequence of the operations of the allied squadrons in the Sea of Azoff.

The British Army-works Corps, and the men employed in the various preparations necessary for the expedition to Kinburn, and for winter

quarters, were much impeded by the badness of the tools given out by the quartermaster-general. Although, from the beginning of the war, many complaints had been made on this subject, and the English press denounced the neglect of the War-office and the Ordnance-board—and although ministerial promises of care in this respect were made in the House of Commons—no real amendment took place. Some time during October, 1855, no tools could be obtained, and those charged with particular works had to go to Constantinople, and purchase such as that bad market for such articles supplied.

It was intended by the allied generals to send strong reinforcements to Eupatoria, but after some detachments of cavalry only had sailed thither, a telegraphic despatch from Lord Panmure countermanded the order. His lordship had learned from Berlin that an attack upon the allied armies before Sebastopol was intended. This was merely a *ruse* on the part of the czar's Prussian allies (for such they might with great propriety be called), to prevent any attempt from Eupatoria upon the interior of the Crimea, or any other expedition such as the fine weather of October favoured.

On the 20th news arrived of the glorious battle of Kars. The British army was boisterous with joy at the noble conduct of the British officers in that great victory. This intelligence quickened the desire of enterprise, especially among the British regimental officers.

Towards the end of October deaths from cholera rather increased, and one of the Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity perished of that pestilence. Her remains were attended to the grave by Miss Nightingale and other ladies, and by many officers and soldiers.

During the month of October the extreme use of intoxicating liquors was most injurious to the British army. Kadikoi was a sort of fair, to which the mirth-loving resorted, and where inebriation was much indulged in. The establishment of the money-order system in connection with the post-office at Balaklava tended to check these excesses, as many of the soldiers sent home their money by post-office orders; this they were able to do, for never before had a British army been paid so well.

The events in the allied camps during this month were not exciting. Hutting, road-making, railway extension, and drilling were the chief occupations of the British forces. Many officers returned home; the plea of "urgent private business" became more common as winter approached. The general in command of the 4th division took his leave of that gallant body of men on the 12th. Deputy acting Adjutant-general Elliott thus addressed the men of the division on the occasion:—

"Private and important family affairs compelling Lieutenant-general Sir H. Bentinck, K.C.B., to return to England, he cannot relinquish the command of the fourth division without expressing the great regret with which he does so. Although he has only had the command of it for the short period of little more than four months (but during a very eventful period), he has witnessed with great satisfaction the manner in which all ranks have conducted most difficult, arduous, and dangerous duties, with a spirit, energy, and good-humour not to be surpassed. Having already expressed to Brigadier-general Garrett, on his quitting the division, and to Brigadier-general the Hon. A. Spence and the first brigade, on the morning of their departure on another expedition, his opinion of their services, it only remains for Sir Henry Bentinck to thank Colonel Wood, the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Royal Artillery, and the commanding officers, officers, and non-commissioned officers and men of the second brigade, for the assistance they have at all times rendered to him; and he cannot refrain from expressing his high approbation of the manner in which all ranks have done their duty to their queen and country. The lieutenant-general begs to thank the staff-officers of the division for their zeal and energy in the discharge of their duties, and he cannot conclude without expressing also his satisfaction at the manner in which Dr. Roberts has performed his to the commissariat department and land-transport corps of the division, to whom it is indebted for their supplies, and with a regularity seldom equalled, and reflecting great credit on the officers of those departments. The lieutenant-general has only further, in taking leave of the division, to wish it renewed glory, and he will always feel the greatest interest in its proceedings generally, and of the regiments composing it particularly."

The Russians continued to build batteries and throw up earthworks, to victual the forts, and store up munitions of war on the north side, while they closely watched the allied forces on the Tchernaya. The communications of the allied generals, except in reference to the Kinburn expedition, were unfrequent during October and November; while those of Prince Gortschakoff were constant, and referred with more or less detail to the proceedings or quiescence of his enemies, as well as of his own armies. The following extract will exemplify this, taken from the Journal of Military Operations (from October 14th to October 20th), transmitted by Aide-de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff to the Russian minister of war:—

"The enemy has continued to cannonade the north side of Sebastopol. He has opened embrasures in the No. 8 Battery, and has in-

trenched himself in the ravines of Apollo and Ouschakoff, also at the quondam Admiralty, and in the Karabelnaia faubourg.

"Our adversary's fire does us little injury. Our loss between October 14th and October 20th consisted in two men killed, four wounded, and eight contused.

"At our left wing the enemy, being disturbed probably by the augmentation of our troops upon the right bank of the Belbek, has evacuated the summit of the heights between Karlow and Kokkoulouz, and has withdrawn behind the pass of the mountain, where he has nearly three divisions of infantry. One division remains in the Valley of Baidar, the rest of the troops have recrossed the Tchernaya, and occupied Komary, also the Gasfort and Fedukhine mountains. Nearly ten of his battalions have been transferred to Mount Sapoun. Our Cossacks are again established upon the heights between Karlow and Kokkoulouz, and our outposts are pushed on to Kourtler-Fots-Sala."

From the 24th to the 30th, Prince Gortschakoff's journal furnished the following extracts, in which the ever-recurring story of the one man wounded is to be met with; the rank of Gortschakoff and Wrangel should have prevented such silly attempts at imposition:—"Nothing of particular importance has taken place along the line of the positions occupied by our troops in the Crimea. The enemy has kept up a feeble cannonade against the north side of Sebastopol, and it is with the same inactivity that he has worked against the little cape of St. Paul and Karabelnaia Bay, erected parapets in Ouschakoff Bay, between the piles of the aqueduct and armed Battery No. 3. The loss experienced by our troops on the north side consists of three men wounded. Against the left flank of the main body of our troops the allies have continued to rest upon the mountain passes, and in the Baidar Valley, occupying themselves cutting wood, and working slowly at a road which descends from Kouvéne to the village of Kokkoulouz and Markour. On the 15th (27th) October, a battalion of infantry and a squadron of cavalry of the enemy descended from the Heights of Ozenbash, and returned to their camp after foraging at Upu. From Genitschi Major-general Wrangel announces that on the 12th (24th) two steamers in the roadstead kept up during the whole of the day a cross-fire upon the town; one man was wounded. In the evening a steamer arrived in the roads. At Kertch the enemy has received reinforcements, which brings their strength up to 20,000 men, and they are preparing to take the offensive."

We have elsewhere recorded that the Emperor Alexander II. visited the Crimea; before doing so he put the conscription ruthlessly in

force, sent large supplies of men and munitions to his garrisons, and ordered his superior officers to use every exertion to inspirit the troops to hold possession of the Crimea, until winter should render aggressive operations on the part of the allies impossible. Accordingly, on the 15th of October, Prince Gortschakoff, in an order of the day, dated from the M'Kenzie Heights, proclaimed to his army that he would not evacuate the Crimea:—

"His imperial majesty, our master, having charged me to thank, in his name and in the name of Russia, the valiant warriors who have defended the south side of Sebastopol with so much abnegation, courage, and perseverance, is persuaded that the army, after having acquired liberty of operation in the field, will continue by all possible efforts to defend the soil of holy Russia against the invasion of the enemy. But, as formerly it pleased the solicitude of the father of the great family (the army) to order, in his lofty foresight, the construction of a bridge at Sebastopol, in order to spare at the last moment as much Russian blood as possible, so now the emperor has also invested me with full powers to continue or cease the defence of our positions in the Crimea, according to circumstances. Valiant warriors! you know what your duty is. We will not voluntarily abandon this country, in which St. Vladimir received the water of grace, after having been converted to the Christianity we adore. But there are conditions which sometimes render the firmest resolutions impracticable, and the greatest sacrifices useless. The emperor has deigned to leave me the sole judge of the moment at which we must change our line of defence, if such be the will of God. It is for us to prove that we know how to justify the confidence of the czar, who has come into our neighbourhood to provide for the defence of his country and the wants of his army. Have confidence in me, as you have hitherto had during the hours of trial which the decrees of Providence have sent us."

At the close of the month of October, the Russian army was intrenched on the M'Kenzie Heights, and occupied the northern forts in great strength. A document, signed by the Russian councillor of state, De Kotzebue, thus describes the relative positions of the opposing armies:—"It is difficult to divine what the enemy will do in the future; it is probable, however, that he will make some further attacks, in order to take our army either upon its flank or at its rear. Thus we may expect that the allies will make some movements from the side of Kertch and Yenikale, at both of which places they have reinforced their troops; but we may hope that these projects will be baffled, for, as we have said, the army

of the Crimea has received reinforcements so considerable, that the general-in-chief has it in his power to augment in a notable manner Lieutenant-general Wrangel's forces, which cover his extreme left on the side of the peninsula of Kertch. This is equally true of the coast of the Black Sea, from the embouchure of the Danube up to Perekop. Great masses of infantry and cavalry are distributed in such a manner that it is possible to concentrate them in a very little time upon various points, and especially at Nicolaïeff and Perekop."

Road-making was pushed with extraordinary vigour by the English, so that before the retirement of General Simpson from the command of the army in November, the main road from Balaklava to the central depot was completed. It was a work of admirable construction; no less than 10,000 labourers and soldiers had been employed upon it, under the superintendence of Mr. Doyne. The French did not display a similar amount of energy in this department, nor did they make, in any respect, such ample and suitable preparations for the winter as the British did. The Sardinians were still less vigorous in these preparations than the French, and the portion of road depending upon their labour was in a very imperfect condition when General Simpson left the army. The energy displayed by the English in perfecting their system of roads was not allowed to interfere with the development of the railway. It had been, from the exigencies of the case, constructed too quickly, but it was drained and brought into a state of thorough repair and stability while the roads were being made. Instead of being worked chiefly by horses and ropes, means were taken to establish the use of the locomotive, and so effectual were these efforts, that twenty miles of excellent rail was traversed by locomotives before the British army left the Crimea.

Glimpses of affairs in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, viewed from a Russian point of view, were afforded by the press in Russia, and by the Russian press in other parts of the Continent. Thus, the *Invalide Russe* announced as follows:—"Under date of the 26th of October (Nov. 7th), Aide-de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff has sent the following:—"The enemy are not making any movement. They continue to erect batteries on the south side of Sebastopol, but do not cannonade the north side. A considerable number of the enemy's ships is assembled in the roads near Kamiesch Bay."

At the same date the *Kreutz Zeitung* contained the following:—"The Russian army in the Crimea, which is encamped on the northern part of the table-land, and thence stretches out over the mountainous, well-secured portion of the peninsula as far as Simpheropol, is in pos-

session of all the towns, villages, and hamlets, pays for everything in ready money (specie), and is on the best possible footing with the Tartar population. The regiments that are in camp have burrowed their way into the earth, and are living in the same way as the Wallachian peasantry, which is much to be preferred to the wooden huts of the allies. With respect to the clothing of the men, there is nothing to be desired; for every one has, in addition to good boots of leather, a fur-skin, and a long mantle with a hood, which protect him amply against the roughest weather. The Cossacks often bring in prisoners, either deserters, *marauders*, or persons whom love of sport has led too far into the Russian lines. There are often comical little episodes, as, for instance, a patrol of Cossacks fell in with two *vivandieres* of the 50th regiment, seated in a sort of cart drawn by mules, who had lost their way; the sight of the spicy young French girls, and their entreaties to be let go, had already produced a very remarkable effect on the sons of the Ural, and they would doubtless have released them, when the voice of their bearded leader, with, 'Stupal, Mamsell' (March along, Ma'amselle), recalled them to their duty."

It was evident from such publications that the Russian government deemed it politic to spread the impression in Europe that their cause was far from desperate, and that the allies in and around Sebastopol were only partially victors. The object of this did not then appear; but months afterwards it was made clear that these efforts to propagate by the press an opinion of the unabated strength of Russia, were designed to support the negotiations which were afterwards initiated.

Early in November the czar paid his forces in the Crimea a visit. He entered Bagtché Serai on the 9th, in company with his brothers, Nicholas and Michael, and with Duke George of Mecklenburg, where he was, of course, received with all honours. Not only were grand military reviews and banquetings resorted to for his welcome, but the Greek priests, the Jewish rabbis, the rabbis of the Karite Jews, and the head men of the Tartars, sent deputations and addresses offering the lowliest homage. In the evening there was a display of pyrotechnic art, and a grand illumination. On the 10th the imperial family visited Northern Sebastopol, made an inspection of the forts and their garrisons, and looked long and sadly down upon the blackened ruins of the houses, barracks, docks, &c., of the southern side. On the 11th the czar and his illustrious attendants visited the camps on the Upper Belbek; on the 12th those on the Katcha, for the Russians had taken care to secure all the river communications of the Crimea. On the same day that the emperor inspected the lines of the Katcha,

he returned to Bagtché Serai, and visited all the hospitals. He was represented by witnesses of the visit to have been painfully affected by the horrible wounds which had been inflicted upon many of the inmates during the final bombardment. The czar conversed with the patients, listened attentively to their tales of suffering, danger, privation, and struggle, and distributed liberal and honourable rewards. A silver medal to those who had taken part in the defence of Sebastopol was directed for distribution; and an order of the day to his army seems to have concluded the ceremony of a visit which the troops and Russian residents received with the most loyal and devoted demonstrations of joy. The following was the address to the army by their imperial master:—

“Brave soldiers of the army of the Crimea! By my order of the day of the 30th of August last, I expressed to you the sentiments which filled my heart with sincere gratitude for your services, which have immortalised the glory of the defence of Sebastopol. But it did not suffice for my heart to thank you from a distance for the great acts of bravery and self-denial which even astonished your enemies, and which made you brave all those difficulties of nearly a year’s siege.

“Here, in the midst of you, I desired to say to you personally how much benevolence and real affection I entertain for you. My interview with you has procured me inexpressible pleasure, and the brilliant condition in which I found all the troops of the army of the Crimea, after having inspected them, surpassed my expectations. I felt pleasure in beholding you and in admiring you. I thank you from my very soul for your services, your exploits, and your bravery. They are guarantees for me that my brave army well knows how to uphold the glory of Russian arms, and to sacrifice itself for its faith, its sovereign, and its country.

“In commemoration of the celebrated and valorous defence of Sebastopol, I have instituted especially for the troops who defended the fortifications, a silver medal, to be worn at the button-hole with the ribbon of St. George. May this sign be the certificate of merit for each, and inspire your future comrades with that sentiment of duty and honour which constitutes the unshakeable foundation of the throne and country. May the union upon this same medal of the name of my father—of imperishable memory—and myself be a pledge to you of our sentiments, which are equally devoted to you, and may it perpetuate with you the inseparable memory of the Emperor Nicholas and of myself.

“I am proud of you as he was. Like him, I place full confidence in your tried devotion,

and in your zeal in the accomplishment of your duty. In his name and in my own I once more thank the brave defenders of Sebastopol—I thank the whole army.

“ALEXANDER.”

On the part of the allies little was effected, requiring notice in this chapter, on any of the contiguous coasts. The occurrences at Kinburn will occupy separate chapters. The state of affairs at Kertch may, however, here be noticed so far as the following letter, from an officer in the E. I. Company’s service, may throw light upon it:—“The Anglo-Turkish contingent have been increased at this place to nearly their full complement—sixteen regiments of infantry, close on 1000 men each. The Polish Legion, consisting of 1000 Cossacks and 3000 infantry, and the Bashi-bazonks, 3500 strong, also form part of the force. But it is doubtful whether these two latter will join us till after winter. There are some scoundrels and inhuman brutes amongst the men recently handed over to the contingent. The world are already alive to the excesses, the fearful and horrible atrocities, committed by some of these on the ‘sacking of Kertch.’ Though not to such an extent, these atrocities went on. Of course, when the men came under English rule, this was no longer to be tolerated. It is the custom of the Russians to bury their dead with the rings they wore in life, and other trinkets on them. The coffins of the rich are also richly worked with silver. This became known to the Turks, and resurrectionists in parties prowled like wolves into the still recesses of the dead. An order was issued to stop this. The desire of plunder, however, prevailed, and they continued at night to turn up the Christian graves. Instructions were given to the night patrols to fire on all parties found disobeying orders; and this was carried out about ten days since. A Turkish officer was shot dead in the act of separating the fingers of a corpse to procure the rings. Some days after this an inhuman murder was committed on an old Russian woman. The murderers were apprehended, one of them being an officer. Some of the party concerned in the affair returned to rob the house of the deceased, perhaps to murder a sister who resided with her. The provost-marshal, having learned what was going on, proceeded to the spot, caught the thieves in the act, and flogged them. While doing so, a crowd collected around him, and on failing to extricate the thief, proceeded to force. A soldier of the 71st, and some of the provost-marshal’s party were badly wounded, and he himself was severely hurt by stones thrown at him. Captain Guernsey resisted as long as he could without resorting to force; at last, presenting his revolver at

the assailants, he warned them to retire. An officer in this case was also the ringleader; he drew his sword on the provost-marshal. He was instantly knocked over, as were also three other ringleaders, and then the crowd dispersed. But the excitement was very great amongst the men. They declared loudly they would have vengeance. They said they were sold to the English by the sultan, and they would take their muskets and get rid of all. This was very awkward—a second Cabul massacre in prospect, for what were the English amongst 20,000 Turks?—only one ship of war in the harbour, and a weak regiment of Highlanders. To make matters more complicated, the advanced posts of the Russians had approached to within six miles of us—6000 infantry, 4000 Cossacks, and twenty to thirty guns. We all passed a restless night, as may be supposed. But next morning the Turks were handed over to our commissariat, their officers were separated from them, and they have become quiet and orderly. They see that the guilty will be punished, and they will be well taken care of. So all fear of an *emeute* has passed.”

On the 11th of November General Simpson formally announced to the army that he had resigned his command. The announcement

was made by Lieutenant-general Barnard, chief of the staff, in the following terms:—

“General Sir James Simpson announces to the army that the queen has been graciously pleased to permit him to resign the command of this army, and to appoint General Sir William Codrington, K.C.B., to be his successor.

“On resigning his command, the general desires to express to the troops the high sense he entertains of the admirable conduct of the officers and men of this army during the time he has had the honour to serve with them. In taking leave of them, he tenders his best thanks to all ranks, and offers his earnest wishes for their success and honour in all the future operations of this noble army.

“General Sir William Codrington will be pleased to assume the command of the army to-morrow, the 11th instant.”

Thus terminated the command of an amiable, honest, and incompetent man—a great favourite at the War-office, which he deserved to be, and a safe, prudent, and good general in a subsidiary post; but he was not fit for the command-in-chief of an army in the field, nor did he pretend to be so. He retired with the respect, esteem, and good wishes of the army.

CHAPTER CXIV.

EXPEDITION TO KINBURN.—ALLIED FLEETS OFF ODESSA.—ALARM OF THE CITY.—REDUCTION OF KINBURN.—DESTRUCTION OF OCZAKOFF.

“With helm and blade for honour made,
And their plumes in the gay wind dancing.”—MOORE.

EARLY in October it was decided by the allied authorities at Sebastopol to send an expedition against Kinburn and Oczakoff, and on the 7th of October the fleets and armies destined for that object departed.

It is desirable, before relating the events connected with the expedition, to give some account of the places against which it was sent. They are both situated on the shores of the Liman of the Dnieper—Oczakoff on the north side, and Kinburn on the south. The former was built on the top of a cliff, not very high, but sufficiently commanding. This cliff advances in an acute angle southwards, throwing out a low flat, on which stood an old dilapidated Genoese fort. Soon after the attack upon Odessa, a battery was erected on the cliff outside the channel, taking it in enfilade, but at long range. In the year 1788 a Turkish garrison defended this place against the Russians with great bravery and pertinacity. After a siege of some months, Potemkin, the clever and infamous favourite of Catherine, reduced it. On the southern side, the distance across the Liman not being much more

than a mile, the citadel of Kinburn was erected, upon a spit or tongue of sand and alluvial deposit formed by the passage of the waters to the sea. The defences consisted of three forts—the citadel, and two minor fortifications. The citadel was a horn-work of masonry, with earthen parapets, surrounded by a moat wherever it was not washed by the sea. It contained barracks and other buildings, the roofs of which were visible above the rampart. The armament was heavy, and upon all faces of the fortifications, consisting of one tier of guns, covered and casemated, crowned by a battery *à barbette*, the whole generally numbering sixty guns, half of which swept the sea outside, from the S.E. to N.N.W. Two new batteries had been constructed just before the allies arrived. The passage into the Dnieper was much nearer Kinburn than Oczakoff, giving to the former greater importance as a fortified place. The usual garrison was 2000 men, but was not quite so strong when the allied fleets arrived before it. The war flag always floated above Kinburn, to indicate that it was a place of arms.

Oczakoff was about 190 miles north by east of Constantinople. Fifty miles higher up Cherson was situated, the capital of the province. Russian charts of the Liman of the Dnieper were in the hands of the admirals of the allied fleets, but little reliance could be placed on their accuracy, and at the time the officers of the expedition knew little of either the shores or waters of the Dnieper. The annual alterations in the tide-way rendered any information, possessed independent of Russian charts, also untrustworthy. The waters of the Bug and the Dnieper, having formed a junction, flow together through a narrow channel of variable width, fifteen feet being the minimum, until they debouch into the sea near Oczakoff and Kinburn. At the river entrance of the gulf of the Dnieper, and on its northern bank, Cherson was remarkable, not only as the seat of government, but from the historical incident of the Empress Catherine having written on the gate of the city, "Road to Constantinople." This province was not added to the Russian empire until ten years after the annexation of the Crimea; its territory is more extensive than that of Taurus.

The object of the allies in operating against the forts at the mouth of the estuary, was to secure a good basis of operations against Nicolaieff, the strongest hold of the czar in Southern Russia after Sebastopol. It was the great ship-building arsenal, and the largest naval depot in the Black Sea. A quarter of a century previous to the fall of Sebastopol, Nicolaieff had scarcely ever been heard of out of Russia. The energy and talent of the Muscovite admiral, Lazareff, laid the foundation of its greatness. It was situated on the confluence of the Bug and the Ingul, and surrounded by a vast steppe, barren and desolate. There were about 5000 houses, and 40,000 inhabitants there at the period of the expedition. It contained many good public buildings, six Greek churches, one "Catholic Greek" church, a Lutheran church, and a Jewish synagogue, and a synagogue for Karite Jews. The Admiralty was a magnificent building, and there were several barracks, three stories each, solidly and elegantly constructed; these were capable of accommodating more than 25,000 men. Immense stores of guns and ammunition had been laid up in the arsenal, but the demands which had been recently made at Sebastopol nearly exhausted them. Public works necessary for an arsenal abounded, and the aqueduct, like that at Sebastopol, was a remarkable specimen of civil engineering. This conducted a supply of excellent water to the garrison and the inhabitants, and was necessary to their existence, for there were no wells, and the waters of the Ingul were turbid and unwholesome.

It was on Sunday, the 7th of October, that

the fleets sailed from Kamiesch Bay. The expedition was on a scale of magnitude from which much greater things might have been expected than were performed. The subjoined lists will present to the reader correct details of the forces dispatched:—

LINE-OF-BATTLE SHIPS.

	Guns.	Tons on Board.	Royal Marines.
Royal Albert *.....	121	800	80
Hannibal †.....	90	670	80
Agamemnon ‡.....	90	—	—
Algiers.....	99	500	80
St. Jean d'Acre.....	101	—	1030
Princess Royal.....	91	700	80
Totals.....	583	2670	1350

STEAM FRIGATES, SLOOPES, &c.

	Guns.		Guns.
Curacoa.....	30	Spitfire.....	6
Dauntless.....	33	Spitfire.....	5
Firebrand.....	6	Stromboli.....	6
† Furious.....	16	Terrible.....	21
Gladiator.....	6	Tribune.....	31
Leopard.....	18	Triton.....	3
Odin.....	16	† Valorous.....	16
Sidon.....	22	Vulcan.....	6
Sphinx.....	6		
		Total.....	217

SMALLER VESSELS.

Gun-boats.	Guns.	Gun-boats.	Guns.
Arrow.....	4	Lynx.....	4
Clinker.....	1	Viper.....	4
Cracker.....	1	Wrangler.....	4
Fancy.....	1	Beagle.....	4
Moslem.....	1	Snake.....	4

MORTAR-VESSELS.

Firm.	Camel.	Magnet.
Hardy.	Flamer.	Raven.

STEAM TENDERS, &c.

Banshee.	Danube.	Brenda.
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TRANSPORTS.

	No.	Freight, &c.
Prince Alfred.....	126	Royal Artillery.
Arabia.....	83	Forrest, Royal Artillery, &c.
Orient.....	78	Medical Staff—Hospital Ship.
Lady Alice Lambton.....	99	Stores.
Durham.....	179	—
Indian.....	197	M-Master, Commissariat-Staff, &c.
Charity.....	140	Civil Land-transport Corps, and Commissariat Stores.
Colombo.....	—	Methven, shot and shell, &c.
Zebra.....	211	Fuel.
Arthur Gordon.....	238	Stores.

The French had four line-of-battle ships, several steam frigates, a number of gun and mortar-boats, and three of the floating steam-batteries—a new and peculiar description of vessel, more efficient for the purposes of the expedition than any other. In this respect our ally showed a naval superiority; there were no such vessels, nor any of equal efficiency.

* Sir E. Lyons, G.C.B., &c., having on board Brigadier-general Spencer, commanding.

† Sir H. Stewart, K.C.B., second in command.

‡ Joined the squadron at Odessa.

in the English fleet. Their invention was ascribed to the genius of the French emperor. The *Moniteur* claimed this honour for the emperor, after the reduction of Kinburn, in the following terms:—"As soon as the first experiments of the firing had confirmed the ideas on which this new invention was based, and even before the plan was fully decided on, the emperor eagerly communicated his views to our faithful and great ally. Competent persons, men of knowledge and experience, at first felt some surprise, for the question was regarded as one that could not be solved; but experiments on the effect of the fire having been made, they fully confirmed the results which had been obtained in France. The two governments then agreed to build a certain number of these floating batteries, which have just made their first trial at Kinburn. The projectiles which struck them, notwithstanding their size, could neither pass through nor damage their sides, and they soon opened practicable breaches in the stone walls. Thus, not only have the floating batteries, as the emperor wished, neutralised the formidable properties of the Paixhans' shot, which produced such disastrous effects at Sinope, but the experience of war, like the experiments at Vincennes, have proved that they can resist round-shot. Our navy, and that of our allies, who now are acquainted with the properties of these warlike machines, will know how to turn them to good account. The emperor had before that furnished France with a description of artillery which performed a very material part in the victories of the Alma, of Inkerman, and of Traktar; he has now endowed the navy with an arm which has only just made its appearance, and of which the future career will prove the power."

As the fleets drew off from Kamiesch, the admirals made signal that the rendezvous was to be five miles south by east of Odessa, at which they arrived without accident on Sunday night.

On the 8th the fleet arrived off Odessa, which place was described sufficiently for the purposes of this History in a previous chapter. The object of the admirals in appearing off Odessa was not to bombard it, but to deceive the enemy as to the real design of the expedition. The feint partly succeeded, and troops for the defence of that city were directed from every quarter—even from Nicolaieff and Cherson, where they were likely to be so soon required. The terror of the citizens of Odessa was very great, although it did not prevent them from gratifying their curiosity by crowding every elevated position from which a view of the fleet might be obtained.

Much discussion took place in England as to the motives of sparing Odessa, and much

diversity of opinion existed amongst those who were not influenced by political considerations, as to the propriety, and even possibility, of destroying Odessa. Mr. Russell, who accompanied the expedition from the Crimea, gave it as his opinion that, from the construction of the houses, the city could not have been destroyed from the sea. It may be that after the most terrible bombardment, many stone buildings would remain standing; but it can hardly be doubted that the admirals could have rendered the place uninhabitable, and have destroyed the stores from which the Russian armies in the Crimea received sustenance. Mr. Russell represented the fleet as incapable of destroying the place from want of appropriate missiles, and an adequate supply of ammunition, even if its destruction had been practicable under any bombardment. Upon these remarks of its correspondent, the *Times*, in a foot-note thus observed:—"The impression in the Crimea, which no doubt our correspondent faithfully echoes, seems to be that Odessa should have been destroyed; whereas, we believe that an attack on Odessa would have been considered throughout all Europe as a barbarous outrage, which the aggressors would have been heartily ashamed of after the heat of conflict had passed away. If Odessa were really a military station, the stern laws of war would, no doubt, justify its destruction; but an attack upon a great commercial city, on the pretext that its stores supplied provisions to the Russian army, could only be classed in history with the burning of Washington."

Such opinions did not generally prevail in England. It was thought that, if the fishing-nets and boats in the Sea of Azoff, and if, along the shores of the Baltic and the White Sea, stores connected with the commercial marine of Russia, and granaries the property of merchants, were destroyed in accordance with the laws of war—so, at Odessa, a similar policy would have been righteous. In fact, it was not simply a commercial city, for it had a large garrison, was the capital of a province, and trusted for its security, not to its commercial character, but to its barracks and batteries, its army and its sea ramparts. The proper course would probably have been to demand the disarming of the place, and promise to spare it; or, in case the dismantling of fortifications and surrender of guns were refused, to treat it as a place of arms, which it undoubtedly was, and reduce it to ruins. Mr. Russell argued against the expediency of any attack, that, as the total destruction of the place was impossible, the enemy would fire the last gun and claim the victory. If this reasoning were sound, then all the operations in the Sea of Azoff were impolitic, for the destruction inflicted was in no place total, and the enemy

actually claimed victory in the result. So in like manner, at Sweaborg, the country congratulated itself upon the vast amount of damage inflicted upon the enemy; but, inasmuch as the defences were not totally silenced, Russia boasted that the allied fleets were beaten off. Mr. Russell's argument for sparing Odessa was either good for nothing, or conclusive against all those operations, both in the Baltic and within the Sea of Azoff.

That the Russians themselves considered an attack upon Odessa reasonable and imminent, was proved by the Muscovite organ at Brussels, *Le Nord*, which contained the following remarks upon the probability of a bombardment:—"The Anglo-French journals will probably announce to-morrow the bombardment of Odessa. It is thought that there are at that place immense stores of wheat, and, as the supply of grain in England and France is deficient it is, no doubt, considered quite rational to burn what Russia possesses. These are sad expeditions—disasters without glory, which envenom the hostility of the belligerents, which humanity deplors and morality condemns, even supposing them to be attended with some strategic result. It is probable that we may behold in the Black Sea a new bombardment of Sweaborg. Even if it should have worse financial consequences for Russia, we may ask ourselves whether such an expedition will exhaust the empire, as the journals assert? and whether the evil which the allied fleets can inflict on Russia will not be a terrible blow to the commercial interests of all countries which are interested in Odessa? The reply will be, 'This is war; we will burn everything on the coasts that is not surrendered.' Alas, all will be burnt, perhaps, but certainly it will not be surrendered."

The same organ of Russian policy represented the anxiety of the merchants at Odessa as very great, and contained a statement to the effect that in answer to an observation of a Russian merchant at Odessa, that all that was now wanted to the prosperity of the city was an honourable peace, the czar replied, "Who is there that does not desire such a peace? I more than any one else."

The allied fleets remained before Odessa, making such demonstrations as would be likely to lead the authorities and the inhabitants to suppose that a bombardment was about to take place. An effort was made by the citizens to engage the consuls and consular agents of different states having diplomatic representatives there, to dissuade the allied admirals from extreme measures. Accordingly, the consular corps sent to them the following address:—“The presence of the combined fleets in the roads of Odessa gives cause for fear that a bombardment is intended. It is therefore the

duty of the undersigned consuls-general and consuls to call the attention of your excellencies to the dangers to which the lives and property of the persons under their protection will be exposed should a bombardment take place. The undersigned take the liberty to remind your excellencies that Odessa contains many families, the members of which are the subjects of your sovereigns, and that the greater part of the real and personal property in this city belongs to them. The undersigned, therefore, venture to hope that your excellencies will not expose Odessa to the sad consequences of a bombardment."

It does not appear that any reply was made to this memorial, and the people of Odessa continued in alarm longer than would otherwise have been the case, for a series of dense fogs prevented the admirals from directing the fleets upon their true destination. On the 14th the weather favoured the expedition, and the inhabitants and garrison of Odessa were amazed to see the ships depart without any attempt to do injury to the city, or to the batteries by which it was defended. At about 3 P.M. the fleets anchored about three miles from Kinburn Fort. The general plan of attack was judicious, comprehensive and yet simple. The gun-boats were to sweep the beach of the enemy. The men were then to be landed from the line-of-battle ships in the lanches and paddlebox-boats, towed by the small steamers of lightest draught. The formation on shore was to assume the following order—the French occupying the left, and the English the right:—

DISPOSITION OF BRITISH FORCES.

Flag.	Commissariat. Sappers and Miners. Land-transport Corps. Reserve ammunition. Artillery. Cavalry.	63 Regiment } Royal Marines } Royal Marines }	Second Brigade.	
		Stadl.	20th Regiment. 57th Regiment. 21st Regiment. 17th Regiment.	First Brigade. }
				Flag.

More detailed orders for the attack and landing were soon issued, which we give, in order that our readers may more clearly comprehend the nature of the undertaking :—

“ PLAN OF ATTACK ON KINBURN.

"No. 1. The line-of-battle ships to engage the Fort Kinburn, and two sand batteries on the point, will anchor in about thirty feet, in a line extending northward from fort, bearing E. and about 1200 yards distant from it.

"No. 2, The four French line-of-battle ships

to form the southern division, so that the *Montebello* will be the fourth ship from the south, and the *Royal Albert*, as the fifth ship, will be the southern ship of the English division.

"No. 3. The line-of-battle ships are to weigh together and form a line abreast, north and south, at a cable apart. The southern line-of-battle ship is then to steer so as to bring the south end of Kinburn Fort bearing E. by compass, and, to shield her from any danger that may not have been discovered, or from approaching too close to the bank to the south, she is to be preceded by two steamers, each a cable apart, and in advance, on her starboard bow, and showing their soundings. When the south line-of-battle ship brings the south end of Kinburn to bear E., she is to steer for it. The rest of the ships will then steer the same course, keeping one cable apart, and all anchor together in a line nearly north and south, just without the flag buoys that will be placed during the previous night.

"No. 4. The nine ships will then be in position for the first five or six to engage Fort Kinburn at from 1200 to 1400 yards, and perhaps less, and the other three to take the sand batteries in flank and rear, at about 1000 yards.

"No. 5. The three French floating-batteries are to be placed on a line N.N.W. and S.S.E. of each other, to the S.W. of Fort Kinburn, at about 600 yards distant from it.

"No. 6. The mortar-vessels are to anchor in a line E. and W., at 2800 yards distant, with the fort bearing N.E. from the outer vessel of the line.

"No. 7. The English mortar-boats to be towed by the *Odin*, on a line E. of the French.

"No. 8. If the outer mortar-vessel brings Oczakoff telegraph on with the east end of Fort Kinburn, bearing N. 20 E. (magnetic), and steers for it till the Oczakoff telegraph and Odzah Point subtend an angle of 70 degrees, she will be about the requisite distance of 2800 yards from Fort Kinburn; the rest can take their stations at a cable distance east of her.

"No. 9. The *Sidon*, *Curacao*, *Tribune*, *Dauntless*, and *Terrible* to anchor close off the North Sand Battery on Kinburn Spit, or when ordered, to join the squadron of gun-boats, &c., that have previously entered within the straits, should any large ships of the enemy from Nicolaieff appear for the relief of Kinburn.

"No. 10. The disposable paddle-steamers can find good positions between the line-of-battle ships for directing their fire with steady aim at the embrasures of the casemates, or at any position where the enemy maintains his fire, or off the N. and N.W. extremity of the Kinburn Spit, to enfilade the batteries and their approaches.

"No. 11. The gun-boats will attend to protect the army during the landing, and those not ordered to remain to cover their flank to take up position between the other ships as opportunity offers, and by a careful attention to the plan of attack, are not to fire in the direction of the other ships.

"No. 12. The admiral holds the captains responsible for there being no firing, unless the men can distinctly see the objects they are directed to fire upon.

"*Triton* and *Beagle* to attend *St. Jean d'Acre*. Each ship's boats to land her own troops. Reserve ammunition for the marines to be landed with them. *Spiteful* and *Turions*, assisted by *Triton*, to land twenty-one cavalry horses, seven staff horses, twenty-seven regimental staff horses from No. 197, and sixty sappers, with tools, &c. The captain of each ship is to be responsible for the disembarkation of his own troops and baggage."

Minute directions for the conduct of the advanced squadron followed, which are too technical for the general reader, and too much in detail to be necessary for the professional reader.

During the night of the 14th, the English steam gun-boats, *Boxer*, *Cracker*, *Clinker*, and *Fancy*, with four French gun-vessels, forced the passage into Dnieper Bay, the Spit Fort firing heavily, but without effect. The next morning a landing was effected, the British troops under the command of Brigadier-general Spencer, the French under General Bazaine. The place of landing was three miles southward of the principal fort, and thereby the retreat of the garrison was cut off, while the arrival of reinforcements was also effectually prevented. The troops landed precisely in the order laid down in the plan already given, and no opposition was offered. The 17th regiment was the first to land—a body of fine and well-disciplined men. The troops immediately intrenched themselves, no enemy appearing, except a few Cossack videttes. The wind freshened in the evening, producing a heavy surf, which interfered with the operations of the ships. Nevertheless, the gun-boats opened upon the enemy's positions. The utility of this fire was disputed by those who saw or took part in it. Mr. Russell, who witnessed it, thus wrote:—"The mortar and gun-boats bombarded the forts for three hours, but did not produce any apparent impression." An officer who participated in the labour of the bombardment described it, in *Colburn's United Service Magazine*, in a very different way:—"In the evening the English and French mortar-boats tried their ranges against the main fort, with excellent effect." The latter version of what happened we believe to be the correct one—the mortar-vessels only intended to try their range, so as to ensure an effec-

tual fire when the bombardment should really commence.

On the 16th a south wind and a heavy swell prevented the fleets from attempting anything of very signal importance. In the evening, however, Admiral Lyons directed a slow and steady fire from the *Valorous*, a French frigate, and a few gun-boats of each nation, for little more than half an hour upon the forts, which was returned with great spirit. The fire of the allies inflicted little damage—that of the enemy none. The Russian shells were badly manufactured, and burst in the air; the artillery practice of the forts was in all respects bad. A skirmish between French troopers and Cossacks took place in the morning of this day. The former were patrolling in the plain in the direction of Cherson, when they came upon some brushwood, which concealed a body of Cossacks. The French charged with promptitude, and killed two and captured two, the remainder fled. This seemed to check the alertness of the enemy in effecting close reconnaissances, for the Cossacks were afterwards chary of advancing near enough to receive a similar chastisement.

The trench-work was carried on throughout the 16th and 17th with great vigour; both French and British soldiers seemed to labour *con amore*, and the works consequently assumed a formidable appearance, even within so short a time. The character of these works was that of an intrenched camp, with one front towards the fort and the other towards Cherson, a space of about half a mile maintained in the interval. The flanks of these lines were left open towards the sea, where they were of course covered by the guns of the shipping. The French occupied the intrenchment against Kinburn, the British that towards Cherson; the former operated against the fortress, the latter guarded the rear, and prevented the arrival of reinforcements to the enemy.

On the 17th, at dawn, the French approached within 600 yards of Fort Kinburn, and opened their first parallel. The enemy endeavoured to retard this operation by his fire, but was not successful. At an early hour a northerly breeze sprung up, which, the water being smooth, enabled the gun-boats to get well in, and to open fire with much precision upon the forts. The *Odin*, followed by a train of mortar and gun-vessels, executed the necessary manœuvres in superior style. The *Raven*, *Magnet*, *Camel*, *Hardy*, *Flamer*, and *Firm* mortar-boats—the *Lynx*, *Arrow*, *Viper*, *Snake*, *Wrangler*, and *Beagle* gun-boats, directed for several hours their missiles of destruction against the doomed fortress. The *Arrow* threw Lancaster shells, and lost several men from the bursting of the guns, which had not been manufactured by the inventor of this new arm of war. The fire

of the small craft was terribly effective; the grim fortress trembled beneath the shocks of successive salvos, and flames burst forth in several directions. The French gun and mortar-boats were not as efficient as those of the English; but their iron floating-batteries were the most powerful instruments of demolition brought against the fort. A French officer wrote to his friends in Paris an account of the action of these vessels, which other eye-witnesses confirmed:—"We have just put the floating-batteries to a most satisfactory proof. They opened their fire at a quarter past nine, at a distance somewhere between 400 and 600 metres, and by noon there was a splendid breach. The fifty-pound balls quickly sealed off the facing of the rampart, and the shells knocked over everything. I was in the fort after its surrender, when the fire kindled by the mortar-vessels was still burning. I never saw such a confusion of smashed gun-carriages, of broken or dismounted guns; the chaos was superb. Now, we must set to work and try to do better still. The first trial has been good, but there is yet room for improvement; the engines are not powerful enough, and the hulls do not readily answer the helm. But one thing is decidedly proved—the main and essential thing—that is, the invulnerability of the floating-batteries. They all of them bear the dints of from forty to fifty shots, just like the marks of bullets on a target. We have only lost a few men from some projectiles that entered by the port-holes. We are well rewarded by the signs of astonishment and admiration on the part of the English and the Russians."

About noon the storm of battle was increased by the arrival of the *Royal Albert*, the *Algiers*, the *Agamemnon*, and the *Princess Royal* line-of-battle ships, with four liners of Admiral Bruat's. These all came abreast, and poured in from their broadsides a hurricane of balls. At the same time the squadrons of Admirals Sir Houston Stewart and Pellion took the forts in reverse, and continued their fire until it was silenced. The main forts were also engaged by other portions of the fleets. The *St Jean d'Acre*, *Tribune*, and *Sphinx* attacked the centre fort; the *Hannibal*, *Davoutless*, and *Terrible* battered that upon the spit. When the defence ceased the English admiral, anxious to spare life, requested the French admiral to cease firing, but he refused, alleging that until the enemy held out a flag of truce, or the forts were utterly destroyed, it was his duty to continue the cannonade. Soon after, the English guns were silent, and the French admiral agreed to spare the garrison the horrors of a further cannonade until negotiation was tried. A flag of truce was sent in, and the governor consented to surrender the fortress and its garri-

son, the officers to wear their swords as they surrendered. The reason of no flag of truce having been shown by the enemy when defence was no longer possible, was discovered during the negotiation. The second in command of the fortress, a Pole, and the engineer officer, resisted the purpose of the governor to treat with the allies, and were insubordinate, threatening to blow up the fort; they were intoxicated. These men had to be put under arrest before the governor could deliver up the place. This he at last did, and he and his garrison marched out prisoners of war, while the flames within the fortress were spreading, and were perilously near the magazine. The governor was Major-general Kokonovitch. The garrison consisted of engineers, artillery, and infantry, to the number of nearly 1400 men. Nearly 300 had been killed, and about 500 wounded. Eighty-one guns and mortars, and a considerable store of ammunition, fell a prize to the conquerors. The demeanour of the prisoners very much resembled that of the captives at Bomarsund. The officers, in most cases, were apparently remorseful and resentful; some deported themselves with great dignity. The men were mostly drunk, and pironetted and waltzed, making grotesque faces, and uttering exclamations of mingled satisfaction and recklessness. The governor was in deep grief; turning to the fortress, his cheeks wet with tears, he exclaimed, "Adieu, Kinburn! Swarrow's glory and my shame!" Yet the veteran had made a very gallant defence, and his surrender was in no way to his dishonour. The prisoners were sent to Constantinople.

On the 18th the enemy blew up the fort near Oczakoff, and retired from that place; twenty-two waggons were destroyed in the explosion. The British and French made suitable preparations for the occupation of Kinburn, and thus secured an important position for operations against Cherson or Nicolaieff, as well as inflicted a new loss and humiliation upon a proud and boastful foe.

On the 20th of October, General Simpson referred to these exploits in the following short paragraph of a despatch:—

"I am happy to be able to congratulate your lordship on the successful termination of the expedition to Kinburn. I transmit a copy of the report of Brigadier-general the Honourable A. Spencer. This contains all the information I have received on the operations, with the exception that, in a private note, Sir E. Lyons mentions that the enemy have exploded the three forts at Oczakoff, commanding the northern entrance into the Dnieper."

The report of the Honourable Brigadier Spencer was dated from the camp near Kinburn on the 17th:—

"In reporting, for the information of the general commanding the forces, the fall of the garrison of the fortress of Kinburn this day, I have the honour to state that the force under my command effected their landing on Monday, the 15th, unopposed.

"Owing to a heavy surf, and which continued all day yesterday, the landing has been accomplished with some little difficulty. The troops, however, were all got on shore on the first day, and have since been employed in intrenching our position. There are rumours of a force of the enemy collecting at Cherson, about forty miles from here, but our immediate neighbourhood appears to be clear.

"The advanced line of the position, flanked on both sides by the sea, is held by the force under my command, and is about a mile in extent."

In a subsequent despatch, General Simpson inclosed another brief report from Brigadier Spencer, dated the 19th of October:—

"I have the honour, for the information of the commander-in-chief, to forward a more correct state* of the force under my command than my very hurried despatch of the 17th instant enabled me to do.

"I am this day employed in moving my camp, now three miles from Kinburn, to the immediate neighbourhood of that fort; our position, although no time has been lost in making intrenchments, being too extensive; and the gun-boats of the allied fleets, from the peculiarity of the ground, could, in the event of an attack from the interior, be of little use to us. The front of the new position will not exceed half a mile, and will be well covered by the gun-boats on both flanks.

"To-morrow General Bazaine purposes to make a reconnaissance, in which nearly the whole of the English force will take part. We carry with us two days' provisions.

The fort of Kinburn, which has been very much damaged by the fire of the ships on the 17th, is about to undergo repair. The fort and magazines at Oczakoff were yesterday blown up by the enemy. The weather is fine, and the troops are very healthy. A small supply of water is to be found on the shore, and I hope to increase it."

The French, having undertaken to garrison Kinburn for the winter, the brigadier and his

* "Infantry—180 officers, 237 sergeants, 86 drummers, 3999 rank and file, 53 sick.

Royal Artillery—6 officers, 5 sergeants, 149 rank and file; 100 horses.

Royal Engineers—6 officers, 4 sergeants, 56 rank and file.

Detachment of Cavalry—1 officer, 1 sergeant, 20 rank and file; 20 horses.

Total—193 officers, 217 sergeants, 86 drummers, 4224 rank and file, 33 sick; 120 horses."

forces rejoined the army before Sebastopol, as appears from the following despatch of General Simpson, dated Sebastopol, October 27th:—

"I have the honour to transmit the copy of a letter I have received from Brigadier-general the Honourable A. Spencer, informing me of the return of the force under his command to Kinburn, after having made a short reconnaissance.

"As it has been decided that the French will garrison the fort, the English troops will return here, and I expect them about the 3rd of November.

"I have to report the arrival, on the 25th instant, of a detachment of prisoners, to the number of 132, from Odessa, where the greatest part of them arrived on the 24th of September. Among them is Lieutenant James, of the Royal Engineers, who was taken on the night of the 2nd of July; he has been kept at Riazan, and reports having been very well treated by the Russians. The prisoners have been kept at Veronetz, on the Don, and when they left there were only two remaining, who were sick, and 51 deserters."

On the 20th the allied troops made the reconnaissance thus referred to, which occupied them three days, with no other result than burning a village, and ascertaining the topography of the neighbourhood. The following was General Spencer's report, dated Kinburn, the 24th of October:—

"I have the honour to report, for the information of the commander-in-chief, that the troops under my command returned yesterday evening from the reconnaissance they made in company with the French army. The force left Kinburn on the 20th instant, bivouaced that night and the following at the village of Paksoffka (eight miles), proceeded thence to the village of Skakoffka, which the allies burnt. A good many farms, all deserted, and a great quantity of hay were also destroyed. On our return yesterday, about 250 of the enemy's cavalry menaced our rear. The troops are very healthy.

"At a conference held to-day, it has been determined that the fort of Kinburn is to be occupied for the winter by French troops, and it is expected that the English troops will embark for the Crimea on the 1st of November."

On the 13th of November, General Codrington, in a despatch to Lord Panmure, inclosed the final report of Brigadier-general Spencer. The terms of General Codrington's despatch were:—

"Having so lately assumed the command of the army, I have not sufficient materials, nor do I consider it necessary, to write a separate

despatch. The return of the troops from the expedition against Kinburn was announced to your lordship by electric telegraph on the 3rd instant.

"I do myself the honour to transmit the copies of reports received from Brigadier-general the Honourable A. Spencer, giving a more detailed account of the proceedings of the force under his command than he had hitherto been able to make; and two reports from Brigadier-general Lord George Paget, with an account of two reconnaissances that were made by the allied cavalry from Eupatoria."

The report of Brigadier Spencer was dated on board her majesty's ship *Royal Albert*, off Sebastopol, the 4th of November:—

"In reporting the return of the expeditionary land force under my command from Kinburn, I am now enabled to make, for the information of the commander-in-chief, a more ample report of their proceedings than in my previously hurried despatch I was able to do.

"The landing of the troops, three miles from Kinburn Fort, was effected without opposition on the 15th of October. Owing to a heavy surf, there was considerable difficulty in it, but the infantry were all on shore by 11 o'clock (it commenced at 8 A.M.); and from the activity of the royal navy employed, the cavalry and most of the artillery were landed in the course of the day, though the first portion of the commissariat was only landed, and with great difficulty, on the evening of the second day.

"The whole force was very shortly in position. The orders I had received from the French General Bazaine were, to protect with the English troops the right flank from any attack the enemy might make, for the relief of the garrison, from Nicolaieff or Cherson; while the French line was to be in our rear, but facing the fort. The ground I occupied was about a mile in extent; the regiments were deployed into line, every advantage being taken of the nature of the ground, which was undulating. The tents were pitched in rear of the battalions as they arrived from the landing-place. The regiments were employed, immediately after landing, in intrenching their own fronts, thus making our general line of field-works from the sea on either side. A work was also thrown up in the course of the following day, on the left flank of the line, to be occupied by field-pieces or by ship-guns, should the fort not fall immediately. The nature of the ground rendered any assistance from the allied gun-boats impossible. The French had hastily thrown up a *place d'armes* in rear of our right, from which a re-embarkation, if necessary, might have been satisfactorily accomplished.

"The bombardment from the ships commenced on the afternoon of the 15th, but from the state of the weather it was discontinued; and on the 16th they were unable to resume it from the same cause. By the morning of the 17th, the fieldworks thrown up by the troops were, as far as circumstances would admit of, very defensible, although too extensive. The outlying pickets had also thrown up small intrenchments at their respective posts; that morning, at daybreak, I made a reconnaissance, with the detachments of French and English cavalry, and the 57th regiment. The weather becoming thick, the infantry returned after a march of four miles out. The cavalry proceeded to the village of Paksoffka, a few miles further, which they found deserted. At 10 A.M., the ships opened fire, and at 3 o'clock the forts surrendered, with about 1400 prisoners. Seventeen officers and 739 men were given over to me by General Bazaine, and were subsequently sent on board her majesty's ship *Fulcan*, to proceed to Constantinople. On the following morning, the forts at Oczakoff were blown up by the enemy. French and English commissioners were appointed for the taking over of the *matériel* found in the forts of Kinburn, and for the temporary division of the place.

"On the 19th I moved the English camp to the immediate neighbourhood of the fort, and occupied the southern shore; the ground is here nearly level with the sea, and so perfectly smooth that it is easily protected by ships on both flanks. On the 20th the English force, with the exception of the 21st regiment, who were left to do the duties at Kinburn, joined the French in a reconnaissance under General Bazaine. The troops carried three days' provisions, and the commissariat were able to carry three more. We halted and bivouaced that night at the village of Paksoffka, about eight miles' march of sandy soil. The French occupied a village at a short distance. We had no tents; but the weather was fine, and there was plenty of wood and hay, and a large supply of cabbages and other vegetables. The inhabitants had all left. On the 21st halted. The following day, with the cavalry, artillery, and three battalions, I accompanied General Bazaine, with a part of the French force, to the village of Skakoffka, about five or six miles; country very open, with occasionally deep sand; always plenty of water in the villages. Having burnt the village, we returned that day to Paksoffka. The detachment of carabineers, under Captain Wardlaw, had pushed on by my direction to a village about three miles further, where they found inhabitants, who told them that some Russian cavalry had left them that morning. On the 23rd, the whole force returned to Kinburn.

On the march our rear was threatened by about 250 of the enemy's cavalry, who, however, soon retired. On the 27th, the cavalry and artillery were embarked, and on the 30th the whole of the infantry, to return to the Crimea, leaving French troops to garrison the fort."

The despatches of the admirals will afford information on matters of detail connected with the fleets, interesting to naval men. The following was from Rear-admiral Lyons, commander-in-chief of her majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean and Black Seas, dated *Royal Albert*, off Kinburn, October the 18th:—

"My letter of the 6th instant will have informed the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that an allied naval and military expedition was to leave the anchorage off Sebastopol on the following day, for the purpose of taking and occupying the three Russian forts on the Kinburn Spit, at the entrance of Dnieper Bay; and the telegraphic message which I forwarded to Varna last night will soon communicate to their lordships the success which has attended this enterprise.

"It is now my duty to give a more detailed account of the proceedings of the expedition. I have therefore the honour to state that we arrived at a rendezvous off Odessa on the 8th instant, but owing to strong south-west winds, which would have prevented the troops from landing, it was not until the morning of the 14th instant that the expedition was enabled to reach the anchorage off Kinburn.

"During the night the English steam gun-vessels *Fancy*, *Boxer*, *Cracker*, and *Clinker*, and four French gun-vessels, forced the entrance into Dnieper Bay, under a heavy but ineffectual fire from the Spit Fort, and on the following morning the British troops, under the orders of Brigadier-general the Hon. A. A. Spencer, together with the French troops, under the command of General Bazaine, were landed about three miles to the southward of the principal fort, and thus, by these nearly simultaneous operations, the retreat of the garrison and the arrival of reinforcements were effectually cut off. In the evening the English and French mortar-vessels tried their ranges against the main fort with excellent effect.

"The wind having veered round to the southward, with a great deal of swell, nothing could be done on the 16th; but in the forenoon of the 17th a fine northerly breeze, with smooth water, enabled the French floating-batteries, mortar-vessels, and gun-boats, and the *Odin*, and the mortar-vessels and gun-boats, named in the margin,* to take up posi-

* "Mortar vessels—*Raven*, *Magnet*, *Camel*, *Hardy*, *Flamer*, *Firm*. Gun-vessels—*Lynx*, *Arrow*, *Viper*, *Snake*, *Wrangler*, *Beagle*."

tions off Fort Kinburn: and their fire was so effective that, before noon, the buildings in the interior of the fort were in flames, and the eastern face had suffered very considerably.

"At noon the *Royal Albert*, the *Algiers*, the *Agamemnon*, and the *Princess Royal*, accompanied by Admiral Bruat's four ships of the line, approached Fort Kinburn in a line abreast, which the shape of the coast rendered necessary, and the precision with which they took up their positions in the closest order, with jibbooms run in, and only two feet of water under their keels, was really admirable. At the same moment the squadrons under the orders of Rear-admirals Sir Houston Stewart and Pellion pushed through the passage between Oczakoff and the Spit of Kinburn, and took the forts in reverse, while the *St. Jean d'Acre*, the *Curacoa*, the *Tribune*, and the *Sphinx*, undertook the centre battery, and the *Hannibal*, *Dauntless*, and *Terrible*, that on the point of the spit.

"The enemy soon ceased to reply to our overwhelming fire, and, though he made no sign of surrender, Admiral Bruat and I felt that a garrison which had bravely defended itself against so superior a force deserved every consideration, and we therefore made the signal to cease firing, hoisted a flag of truce, and sent on shore a summons, which was accepted by the governor, Major-general Kokonovitch; and the garrison, consisting of 1400 men, marched out with the honours of war, laid down their arms on the glacis, and, having surrendered themselves as prisoners of war, they will be embarked in her majesty's ship *Vulcan* to-morrow.

"The casualties in the allied fleets are very few, amounting in her majesty's ships to only two wounded. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded is, I fear, very severe.

"In the three forts, which have suffered considerably by our fire, we found eighty-one guns and mortars, mounted, and an ample supply of ammunition.

"This morning the enemy has blown up the forts on Oczakoff Point, which mounted twenty-two guns; and we learned from a Polish deserter, who escaped in a boat from them during the night, that the commandant apprehended an attack from our mortar-vessels, which would not only have destroyed the forts, but also the neighbouring dwellings.

"I have abstained from entering into the particulars of the proceedings of the squadron under the orders of Rear-admiral Sir H. Stewart, as he has so ably described them in the letter which I have the honour to inclose, from which their lordships will perceive that I have received from him on this occasion—as, indeed, I have on all others since I have had the good fortune to have him as second in command—that valuable assistance which might

be expected from an officer of his distinguished and acknowledged merits; and I beg leave to add my testimony to his in praise of all the officers, and especially Lieutenant Marryat and Mr. Brooker, whom he recommends to their lordships' favourable consideration.

"To particularise the merit of the officers under my command, where all have behaved admirably, would be a difficult task indeed; but I beg leave to mention that the same officers of the navy and the Royal Marine Artillery, who were in the mortar-vessels at the fall of Sebastopol are in them now, and that on this occasion, as before, they have been under the direction of Captain Willeox, of the *Odin*, and Captain Digby, of the Royal Marine Artillery. Nor can I refrain from stating what I believe to be the feeling of the whole fleet, that on this expedition, as on that to Kertch, the talents and indefatigable exertions of that very valuable officer, Captain Spratt, of the *Spitfire*, and of those under his command, entitle them to our warmest thanks, and deserve to be particularly mentioned.

"I need hardly say that my distinguished colleague, Admiral Bruat, and I have seen with infinite satisfaction our respective squadrons acting together as one fleet."

Sir Houston Stewart's report to Admiral Lyons was dated on board the *Valorous*, in Dnieper Bay, October the 18th:—

"I have the honour to inform you that, in pursuance of your orders, I hoisted my flag in her majesty's steam-frigate *Valorous* on the afternoon of the 14th instant, immediately after the arrival of the allied fleets off Kinburn Spit, and proceeded, under the able guidance of Captain Spratt, of the *Spitfire*, to take up positions at the entrance of Dnieper Bay, where, with the division of steam-vessels placed under my orders,* and in company with those under the orders of my colleague, Rear-admiral Olet Pellion, we remained in readiness to force an entrance into the Dnieper, for the purpose directed by you of preventing, as far as possible, any reinforcements being thrown into the forts on Kinburn Spit, as well as to cut off the retreat of the garrison, should either be attempted.

"At 9 p.m. I instructed Lieutenant Joseph H. Marryat, of the *Craeker*, to take on board Mr. Edward W. Brooker, additional master of the *Spitfire*, and endeavour with him to determine the course of the intricate channel through which we were to pass, and to lay down buoys along the south side of it, the French having undertaken to perform the same service on the north side.

"I likewise directed Mr. Thomas Potter,

* "*Valorous*, *Gladiator*, *Faney*, *Craeker*, *Grisham*, *Boxer*, *Clasher*."

master of the *Furious* (lent to do duty in the *Valorous*), to proceed with two boats of the *Tribune*, and, protected by the *Cracker*, to search for the spit on the north bank, and on his return endeavour to place a buoy on the edge of the shoal off Kinburn Spit, that the entrance of the channel might be assured.

"As soon as the preconcerted signal was given, indicating that this operation was effected, I dispatched the *Fancy*, *Boxer*, and *Clinker* into Dnieper Bay, with orders to anchor in such positions as would best protect the right flank of our troops upon the disembarkation taking place, and to make that their chief care, as long as there was any possibility of the enemy threatening them. During the night, Rear-admiral Odet Pellion also sent in the French gun-boats for the same purpose.

"At daylight on the following morning I had the satisfaction of observing all the gun-boats, French and English, anchored safely to the north-east of Kinburn Fort, and without any of them having sustained damage, although the enemy had fired shot and shell and musketry at them during their passage in.

"While still in considerable doubt as to the extent to which the channel for the larger ships was buoyed, at 10 A.M. Lieutenant Marryat and Mr. Brooker came to inform me that the work intrusted to them had been completed, and that the latter officer was ready to pilot the ships in. The zealous desire evinced by these officers to furnish me personally with their report on the difficult navigation of the Dnieper deserves my warmest thanks; and the gallant manner in which Lieutenant Marryat brought the *Cracker* out for that purpose, under a very heavy fire from the whole of the forts and batteries, elicited the admiration of all who witnessed the proceeding. We were now fully prepared to advance, and, in obedience to your directions, awaited the signal for general attack.

"The whole of the proceedings of yesterday must be already fully known to you; but it is right that I should state briefly the share taken in them by the division you did me the honour to place under my orders, which consisted of the ships and vessels as already stated, reinforced by those named below.

"It being necessary to advance in single line, it was arranged that the ships should do so in the following order:—*Valorous*, Captain C. H. M. Buckle, C.B., bearing my flag; *Furious*, Captain William Loring, C.B.; *Asmodée* (French), bearing the flag of Rear-admiral Odet Pellion; *Cueique* (French); *Sidon*, Captain George Goldsmith; *Leopard*, Captain George Giffard, C.B.; *Sané* (French); *Gladiator*, Captain C. F. Hillyar; *Firebrand*, Captain E. A. Inglefield; *Stromboli*, Commander Cowper Coles; *Spiteful*, Commander F. A. Shortt.

"At noon the signal being made from your flagship to weigh, we proceeded through the channel, each ship engaging the Spit batteries and Kinburn Fort as they came within range.

"To Lieutenant Marryat, of the *Cracker*, is due the merit of preceding and piloting us through, which he did with great judgment.

"Had the enemy continued his defence of the Spit batteries, the *Sidon*, *Leopard*, *Sané*, and *Gladiator* were directed, in that case, to remain in front of them until their fire was completely silenced; but as they were subdued by the accurate and well-sustained fire which was poured upon them by the ships which you had placed to the westward of the spit, and by those of our own squadron on passing to the eastward, this became unnecessary; the whole division, therefore, continued its course through the channel, and anchored well inside Fort Nicolaieff and Oczakoff Point.

"During this time the four gun-boats, *Fancy*, *Grinder*, *Boxer*, and *Clinker*, did good service by placing themselves in such position as to throw a flanking fire on the middle battery and Kinburn Fort at the time our division passed within short range.

"Immediately on anchoring I transferred my flag to the *Cracker*, and, followed by the other gun-boats, proceeded close off the east front of Kinburn Fort, to be ready to act as circumstances required, should the enemy's fire, which at that moment had entirely ceased, be renewed; however, the necessity for further action did not arise.

"As the service intrusted to me was carried out under your observation, I feel it to be unnecessary to do more than to record my grateful sense of the very satisfactory manner in which the whole of the ships under my orders took up their appointed stations, and of the manner in which all employed performed their duty. I think myself fortunate in having for my temporary flag-ship so efficient and well ordered a man-of-war as the *Valorous*, and I feel much indebted to Captain Buckle and his zealous first-lieutenant, Joseph Edye, for their unremitting attention and assistance.

"I am delighted to add that, in concerting with our gallant allies the arrangements necessary for carrying into effect the present successful operations, I have received the cordial support and concurrence of my excellent colleague, Rear-admiral Odet Pellion.

"The anxiety which you yourself ever feel to do full justice to merit and exertion must be my excuse for presuming to request your most favourable notice of Lieutenant Marryat and Mr. Brooker. They have had anxious, difficult, and dangerous work to perform, and they have each of them executed it admirably."

CHAPTER CXV.

OCCUPATION OF KINBURN FORT.—RECONNAISSANCES BY THE ALLIED FLEETS—PERSONAL EFFORTS OF THE CZAR TO ENCOURAGE THE GARRISONS OF ODESSA, CHERSON, AND NICOLAIEFF.

"The English, with their invincible fleets, will blockade all our ports, and their inexhaustible resources will enable them, with their own small but brave army, and the numerous and impetuous troops of France, to penetrate to the very heart of our empire."—*Alleged saying of the Czar Nicholas.*

AFTER the allies settled down in the occupation of the captured fort, they were informed that their proceedings had been watched from Oczakoff by the czar, and that he signaled to the garrison his intention of sending relief if it held out until the next day. This story is not reconcilable with existing narratives of the peregrinations of his imperial majesty at that time, but the prisoners insisted upon its truth.

One of the first acts of the allies, after the events related in the foregoing chapter, was a naval expedition to the mouth of the river Bug. The flotilla appointed for this purpose consisted of the *Stromboli*, bearing the flag of Rear-admiral Stewart; the *Spitfire*, *Spitfire*, and *Triton*, steam-sloops; the *Wrangler*, *Lyons*, *Viper*, *Snake*, *Beagle*, *Clinker*, *Cracker*, *Grinder*, *Boxer*, and *Fanny*, screw gun-boats; and twelve French gun-boats, also under the command of a rear-admiral.

Another flotilla, composed of British and French gun-boats, sailed for the mouth of the Dnieper, where the Bay of Cherson becomes an estuary of about five miles in width. The land on its shores was marshy, and covered with a thick growth of rushes; forests stretched away into the interior. At this place two timber rafts of considerable value were captured by the British. These rafts were about 450 feet long, 6 feet deep, and 100 wide. Their destination was the Russian dockyard at Nicolaieff. They were formed of the best white oak, and their value was estimated at £20,000. One of these was presented to the French by the English admiral. They had been of utility to the Russians in carrying vast cargoes of timber for the purpose of ship-building, the dockyards of Nicolaieff having been supplied with this commodity chiefly from the government of Sigtewski, where there are forests of the finest oak in the dominions of Russia, especially at Minsk, Moelevo, and Vitebsk. The rafts themselves, as well as the timber they carried, were used for ship-building purposes at Nicolaieff. Some of these rafts were composed of 5000 large trunks of trees; the majority were of less dimensions. Small vessels of war were constructed at Cherson; ships of the line and frigates at Nicolaieff. Superior oak timber, such as was grown in the forests of the government of

Sigtewski, was very scarce in the Russian empire; and therefore, when the allies succeeded anywhere in destroying stores of ship-building material, they inflicted great injury upon both the martial and commercial marine of Russia. The rafts were brought down to Kinburn, and moored there; but some time afterwards they parted from their moorings, were driven to sea, and broken up.

While these expeditions reconnoitred the Bug and the Dnieper, Mr. Brooker, of the *Spitfire*, volunteered to go to Nicolaieff at night, in one of the small gun-boats, and ascertain its actual condition. This gallant offer was not accepted, as it would have been in the days of Nelson and our more ancient admirals. It was supposed that the Russians might capture the boat, and make too much boast of the prize. Certainly, any calculations based upon a supposed want of vigilance on the part of the enemy were likely to prove erroneous; the watchful foe seemed never to forget that care and alertness were as great essentials of war as courage. Had his enterprise equalled his circumspection, many serious blows might have been dealt against the allies on every field of contest.

During the month of October, the Russians amassed vast quantities of provender on the banks of the Dnieper and the Bug, apprehensive of their falling into the hands of the allies.

While the naval squadrons were effecting these reconnaissances, the enemy, by a skilfully-worked system of telegraphs, communicated intelligence every moment to headquarters, and the Cossack videttes seemed to be ubiquitous. Three French officers landed in a fog, for some capricious purpose, and were instantly captured. Three English sailors, belonging to the crew of the *Lord Arthur Gordon*, were also taken prisoners, and, fastened to the tails and saddle-bows of the Cossack horses, were rudely dragged from the river-beach into the interior. Wherever the crews landed, they found a skilfully-laid ambush awaiting their enterprise.

It was a matter of surprise to amateurs, and to the tars generally, that no attempt was made to destroy telegraphs within the range of our fire. Captain Ingfield, of the *Firebrand*, offered to effect their speedy destruc-

tion, but was not permitted. The men of the squadron which proceeded up the Bug were surprised at the indications of agricultural wealth which appeared. Large farm-houses, with well-stored yards, and vast herds of cattle, which the Cossack troopers were collecting and driving before them, were everywhere visible. About three miles up the river there was a farm of vast dimensions, such as none on board the fleet had ever witnessed before. Two miles further there was a handsome village, with two churches well built, and ornamented guard-houses. Cossack posts were very numerous in the vicinity. The squadron lingered here, while the *Stromboli*, and the gun-boats *Cracker* and *Grinder* went ahead, followed slowly by the *Spitfire*, taking soundings. The banks of the river rose to high cliffs, and on their summits Russian artillerymen were seen to peep forth at intervals. Presently, from a gun in the side of the steep cliff, a shot was fired at the *Grinder*. Admiral Stewart ordered her to give a shot in return. Before this was accomplished, another gun from the cliff fired at the *Stromboli*, the ball falling short. The drums of the ships beat to quarters, and the sailors, delighted at the prospect of a contest, rushed to their guns with alacrity. The *Grinder* fired upon the cliff battery in vain—it was constructed too well to be easily silenced; but the *Stromboli* and *Grinder* worked closer in, and the shots fell right into the intrenchment, scattering it about, and causing confusion among its occupants. The *Spitfire* arriving, aided with good practice. Two of the enemy's guns were silenced; but the Russians set about repairing the battery, even under fire; and it was evident that, as often as they were driven out, they would return; the ships, therefore, steamed down the river to their rendezvous. As the cruisers were leaving, a shell from one of them burst among the Russian artillerymen.

After that reconnaissance the French admiral made one, and a contest ensued with the same battery, which, according to the accounts given by the French officers, was destroyed by their fire, and havoc created among those who manned it. These accounts were somewhat inconsistently detailed, and savoured a little of gasconade.

While the English were engaged in their reconnaissances, they observed a grand staff of military officers regarding the squadron from the shore with minute attention. One of them was supposed to be the czar, from the respect shown to him. A Cossack was observed to bring him a letter, and to dismount and prostrate himself as he presented it.

It was suggested by the French admiral that the village of Stanislov should be bom-

barded, because of its telegraphs, Cossack posts, and certain batteries erected there. The squadrons approached it, and found that a strong body of Russian troops occupied it; new and excellent batteries had been erected, and the houses were lined with riflemen. In accordance with the cautious policy of the admirals throughout the war, nothing was attempted.

While the naval reconnaissances recorded in this, and the military reconnaissances recorded in a previous chapter, were being conducted, the engineers and artillerymen worked hard at Kinburn, to put it into a posture of defence, which the enemy could not assail with any hope of success after the fleets should be withdrawn. A small body of English remained to guard the British flag, the army of the Honourable Brigadier Spencer having re-embarked for the Crimea, as already recorded. The French occupying force was strong, and put forth the activity characteristic of the troops of that nation. Before the first week of November had passed, not only had the ruins been cleared away, the damaged guns removed, and all the wreck created by the bombardment put out of sight, but repairs and creations had been accomplished on a large scale. The curtains were rebuilt, the fosse deepened, the palisades repaired, the approaches of the eastern gate covered by a strong ravelin, the crests of the parapets restored with fascines and earthwork, the casemates made ready for stores or troops, and guns of the largest calibres landed from the English fleet and put in position.

The idea of further reconnaissances on the rivers was given up. Winter was rapidly approaching, when these rivers are frozen; and, besides, there were the dangers of fire-ships, and the possibility of riflemen, securely posted in the cliffs, picking off the men on the decks of the gun-boats. Vessels with shot-proof screens and proof decks, might have gone up with tolerable safety, so long as the waters were open. The raft invented by Captain Cole might have been successfully employed on such enterprises, as it possessed a shot-proof screen, by which every one on board, even the helmsman, was perfectly protected.

On the 28th of October Captain Paris arrived to take the command, instead of Admiral Stewart, that officer being about to return with the troops to Sebastopol.

Nothing particular occurred to the garrison of Kinburn during the winter. The sea, as well as the Bug and the Dnieper, were soon frozen over, and the garrison had a dreary time, except that rumours of an attack in great force by the enemy were constantly arriving. Sometimes these were brought by deserters, and occasionally they were borne from Sebastopol.

There was no likelihood that the allies could make Kinburn a good base of operations against Cherson and Nicolaïeff. So long as the enemy held Simpheropol and the McKenzie Heights, near Sebastopol, they dare not leave so powerful a force in their rear and on their flank; it therefore depended upon the operations around Sebastopol and against Simpheropol, from whatever base, whether there could be any active operations from Kinburn in the spring of 1856. The expedition thither was never popular with the English; it was altogether a French suggestion. The English were in favour of attacking Kaffa instead, which the French, especially Admiral Bruat, opposed. The allies seldom agreed in their plans, however well they co-operated in their execution; and we are bound to say that events ultimately proved that the ideas of the English engineer officers and naval commanders were sound.

Such were the course of events, so far as the allies were concerned, during the occupation of Kinburn. Meanwhile, the Russians were full of activity, and the most strenuous exertions were made to repel any attack by the allies in the spring at Odessa or from Kinburn, and even to act offensively from Cherson and Nicolaïeff, if fortune should favour. These exertions were stimulated by visits from the czar to all those places.

In a previous chapter notice was taken of the effect produced by the fall of Southern Sebastopol upon the court and cabinet of the autocrat. It was then related that he visited Moscow and the provinces, and among other places, Bessarabia and the neighbourhood of the Dnieper and the Bug. At Odessa the effect of his visit was electric upon the inhabitants; they who sued so servilely for mercy from the allied fleets, responded to the warlike appeals of the emperor with alacrity. His majesty, notwithstanding the clemency of the allied fleets, treated their disappearance from before Odessa as the result of fear, and ordered extensive fortifications, to meet any future menace of danger. Odessa became more a place of arms than before, and proved in a yet greater degree the weakness of the policy which spared it. The *Journal d'Odessa*, of the 7th of November, contained an official narrative of the czar's visit:—

"His imperial majesty, accompanied by the Grand-duke George de Mecklenburg Strelitz, arrived from Nicolaïeff on Saturday, the 3rd, at 7 p.m., and alighted at the house of Prince Woronzoff, upon the boulevard. His majesty was received upon the flight of steps by Aide-de-camp General Luders, commander of the army of the south; Aide-de-camp General Count Strogonoff, governor-general of New Russia and Bessarabia; Lieutenant-general Krusenstern,

military governor of the city of Odessa; and by Lieutenant-general Grothnjelm, commander of the troops stationed at Odessa. In his majesty's suite were the following generals:—Count Orloff, Count d'Adlerberg, Baron Lieven, and Prince Bariatinski. The same evening prayers of thanksgiving for the happy arrival of his majesty the emperor were offered up in the cathedral by his eminence Monsignor Innocent, Archbishop of Cherson and Taurida.

"At half-past ten o'clock in the morning of Sunday (November 4th), his majesty deigned to receive the military and civil *employes*, also the body of the merchants of the city of Odessa, who had the happiness of presenting bread and salt to his majesty. His majesty the emperor condescended to honour with a gracious reception all the persons who were presented to him, and expressed to the body of merchants his entire reliance on the Most High, that He will grant a happy issue to this war, raised against us by nations whom we have constantly nourished with our bread, and his conviction that, after the conclusion of an honourable peace, the commerce of Odessa will resume its original importance.

"At eleven o'clock his majesty the emperor went to the cathedral. At the threshold of the temple Monsignor Innocent, in presenting the cross and the holy water, addressed some words full of unction to his majesty. His majesty assisted at the divine office celebrated by the archbishop.

"At one o'clock in the afternoon his imperial majesty went out of the city upon the great plain, which formerly served as a hippodrome, and where the troops stationed at Odessa are now assembled, under the command of Aide-de-camp General Luders. There are now under arms four battalions of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, four artillery batteries, and eleven cohorts of movable militia of the governments of Moscow and Smolensk. His majesty passed these troops in review, which defiled first in platoons and then in columns.

"The emperor then visited the military hospital establishment in the former institute of the *demoiselles nobles* of Odessa; also the hospital of the city. The emperor condescended to kindly interrogate almost all the officers and soldiers upon their wounds, addressing to each some words of encouragement and consolation. His majesty then visited the coast batteries from Perepice to the mole of the quarantine. His majesty was desirous also of visiting the hospice of the Sisters of Charity, where, among others, the military dangerously wounded are surrounded by the results of a charity which is truly Christian; but time, to the great regret of his majesty, would not allow him to fulfil this wish.

"At five o'clock in the afternoon the prin-

cial authorities were invited to his imperial majesty's table.

"In the evening two military bands assembled before the house occupied by his majesty, and performed some beautiful *morceaux*, while the crowd thronged the walks of the boulevards. At nightfall the city was illuminated.

"At eight o'clock in the morning of Monday, the 5th, his majesty, accompanied by his Grand-ducal Highness the Duke de Mecklenburg Strelitz, quitted Odessa for Nicolaieff, in perfect health. Prayers for his majesty's safe journey were offered, by his eminence the Archbishop Innocent, in the cathedral.

"His majesty the emperor has expressed his complete acknowledgments to the aide-de-camp, Lieutenant-general Strogonoff, governor-general of New Russia and Bessarabia, for the wise measures taken during the presence of the enemy's fleets in the road of Odessa; also his imperial satisfaction to Lieutenant-general Krusenstern, military governor of Odessa; Major-general Shoestae, commander of the city of Odessa; to Von-Tchudy, formerly inspector of the quarantine of Odessa, and now colonel of the Kamtschatka regiment of chasseurs; also to Arcoudinsky, master of the police of Odessa."

The address delivered to the emperor by the archbishop in the cathedral, is, perhaps, one of the most disgusting specimens of unctuous cant and the assumption of spiritual superiority ever publicly uttered. In a literary point of view it is as contemptible as it is morally offensive to every one, whether friend or enemy of Russia, who regards falsehood and unprincipled adulation on the lips of a prelate as such things ought to be regarded. The assertion that peace was desirable because agreeable to the religious feelings of the emperor and his people, when he and the religious hierarchy, of which he was the head, were inflaming the minds of the masses with a fanatical war-spirit, shows that the hypocrisy of Russian religion was as bold as it was profound. At any moment the czar and his people might secure peace by declaring that he would no longer interfere with the sultan's government, and no more seize or plunder his territories; yet this archbishop presents in his address the sovereign, church, and people of Russia as piously supplicating the divine interposition for pacific purposes, and as the weak objects of aggression by the injustice of France and England! Political and religious hypocrisy were never more unblushingly blended, even by the Czar Nicholas himself, the prince of hypocrites. Thus another proof was afforded that the deceased autocrat had been a representative man, —the incarnation of the spirit of Russia. False, treacherous, greedy of power, unprincipled in its exercise, intolerant in religion, fanatically eager for religious ascendancy, igno-

rant or reckless of the obligations and principles of Christianity, and basely hypocritical in its profession. The following is the archbishop's address, as published by order of the Russian government:—

"Pious sovereign, thou hast scarcely put on the crown of thy ancestors when it has pleased Providence to surround it with thorns! Our bodily eyes are not accustomed to see such an ornament sparkle on the head of kings, but the eyes of faith see in it, with piety and respect, a souvenir of the crown of Christ. Has it not been, in fact, such crowns that the most pious kings and princes have worn since David, Jehoshaphat, Constantine, Vladimir the Great, until Dimitrid, our hero of the Don, and finally thy patron, Alexander Newsky?

"'Have courage, and let not thy soul become weak at the sight of those smoking brands,' said the prophet to the warrior king of Akakz, when the two kingdoms of Israel and Assyria united against him in an unjust war. How closely do these words of the prophet apply to us and our enemies! This unhappy France! Is she not, in truth, the brand which for half a century has carried fire throughout the entire world? And the proud, but to-day abased and jeopardised Britain? What is she, if not the other brand, which, after being extinguished for two centuries, recommences to smoke in the midst of a yawning gulf? And we also will say with the prophet, 'Let not thy soul grow weak at the sight of these two smoking brands before us.' As a sign from the Most High, the winds abate and the rain falls to fertilise our fields. These brands depart, and Russia, protected by God, recovers itself for the joy of her chief, and for the well-being even of her own enemies.

"Enter, then, O pious sovereign, the temple where thy august father lately came in the depth of the night to raise towards heaven his thanks for having escaped the tempest and shipwreck. Enter, and in turn raise with us thy prayers to the King of kings for the cessation of the tempest which now rages both upon sea and land. May Heaven grant that this temple may again see thee kneeling before God, but then only to render acknowledgments and to give thanks! Amen."

From Odessa the emperor went to Nicolaieff, Cherson, and, it was alleged, proceeded also to Oczakoff. The proceedings of his majesty at Nicolaieff were thus rendered by his own official journals in St. Petersburg:—"Immediately on the arrival of the emperor at Nicolaieff, the principal officer of the engineers at Odessa, Captain Volokoff, was sent for by a telegraphic message, and orders were given him for the immediate construction of five large redoubts, capable of mounting 400 pieces of artillery. At the

same time the building of 500 gun-boats was commenced in the dockyards, under the inspection of the Grand-duke Admiral Constantine, who has brought with him from Cronstadt a large body of working shipwrights and mechanics. These gun-boats are to be each armed with two and four guns of heavy calibre, which have already arrived from the great cannon foundry at Kiew. The guns for the armament of the two new frigates, *Vitjas* and *Tiger*, have also arrived from Kiew. The Grand-duke Constantine left Nicolaieff on the 27th ult., for Sebastopol—or as he can approach to it—and will return with Prince Gortschakoff, when the great council of war will be held, in which the future military operations will be definitely settled. As far as is known here, the prince wishes to evacuate his present position on the north side of Sebastopol, as perfectly untenable during the winter, and proposes to take up a strong defensive position between Bagtché Serai and Eupatoria. Whilst the emperor was inspecting the naval hospital at Nicolaieff, containing the few remains of those sailors that formerly manned the Black Sea fleet, Lieutenant Dorschinsky, of the 45th naval equipage, was presented to him. This officer was severely injured at Sebastopol by the explosion of the Bastion No. 2. On observing that the first attempt to fire the mine was a failure, he seized the burning fuse from the sergeant who held it, and deliberately thrust it into an open powder barrel, which immediately had the desired effect, but the gallant fellow was severely burnt in the face and arms by the explosion, which also set his uniform on fire. The emperor expressed his thanks for this proof of his devotion, and to reward him for his noble conduct took off his own decoration of the Order of St. George, and handed it himself to the lieutenant."

Previous to the issue of the foregoing, the excitement at St. Petersburg and Moscow was very great, and high hopes were entertained that his majesty's presence in the south would nerve every heart to the utmost daring, and every hand to the most strenuous effort. There was, however, a tone of despondency mingled with this hope. The following letter, written at the time to the *Patrie* by a Russian gentleman, in correspondence with that journal, indicates this:—"The minister of war, Prince Dolgorouki, has been informed that the emperor, when scarcely arrived at Nicolaieff, has come to the resolution of going by Cherson to Perekop, whence he would proceed into the Crimea to inspect, as well as events would allow him, the different corps of the army of the Crimea. It is thought here that the presence of the emperor would produce a great effect on the spirits of the soldiers, more or less broken down by the long fatigues, privations,

and defeats which have followed all the encounters with enemies of holy Russia. It appears that the resolution came to by the emperor had not been communicated to any one, not even to the empress, who has returned here from Moscow with her children. The minister of war was also ignorant of it. The czar will not return here till the 22nd, and will pass by Moscow; and according to the opinion he may come to after seeing the army of the Crimea, he will decide on the movements of the reserves. It is said before leaving Moscow the emperor ordered the generals of the reserves to make the necessary preparations for their departure, in case that step should be required. According to a report generally circulated among the officers of the guard, the Grand-duke Constantine, who will not return to St. Petersburg so soon, will reside alternately, as events may require, at Cherson and Nicolaieff. It is said to have been in contemplation, a short time back, to withdraw the two divisions of grenadiers from Finland, as well as the other regiments of the line, all of which were to have marched to the south, and to have been replaced by battalions of militia; but on the pressing entreaties of General de Berg, who commands in Finland, and who declared that he could not answer for the defence of the coast with troops but little accustomed to war, the measure has been abandoned."

After the emperor left Southern Russia, the effect of his visit remained in the increased stimulus to exertion by which the Russian armies were impelled to labour. In the depth of the winter, when the cold was most intense, and the French soldiers would have found it impossible to labour upon the works of Kinburn, had that been necessary, the Russians put forth prodigious efforts, both at Cherson and Nicolaieff. Defensive works were erected along the banks of the Bug, and lines were thrown across the spit before Cherson, and made so strong as to present a most formidable obstacle to an enemy. It was the opinion of the Russian engineers that the redoubts raised for the defence of Cherson would be unconquerable by any army marching from Kinburn. Before the winter set in the Bug was defensible against gun-boats, and the Dnieper made altogether impracticable. At Oczakoff cannon were mounted upon the upper cliffs, beyond range from the allied ships, and a most formidable obstacle to the movements of the squadrons was thus presented from that quarter. Efforts were made by the Cossack cavalry to establish a camp near Kinburn, but the state of the spit prevented. Afterwards, guard-houses and posts were attempted; but the weather was more potent than the allies in rendering their attempts abortive. Viewing all these occurrences as a whole, how-

ever desirable the capture and occupation of Kinburn for a basis of operations against Cherson and Nicolaieff,—if these operations had been undertaken with energy, promptitude, and power,—the subjugation and occupation of the fortress merely put the enemy on his guard, stimulated his defensive efforts, betrayed the allied strategy, and caused the enemy to place the approaches of the Bug and Dnieper in such a condition that it would be impossible for any flotilla to reach those cities. The opinions of the British admirals and engineers that Kinburn should not be taken, unless the blow

was *immediately* followed up by sea against Cherson and Nicolaieff, was sound. The military forces sent from the Crimea were altogether inadequate to such an undertaking, and, as before observed, a land force dare not march from Kinburn upon the desired prizes, while the strategical positions of the hostile armies in the Crimea continued as they were. Negotiations for peace prohibited all opportunity for testing these views, and the army of Kinburn, like that of Kertch and that of Eupatoria, was withdrawn, without encounter with the enemy, after winterclosed the operations of 1855.

CHAPTER CXVI.

DIPLOMACY FROM THE VIENNA CONFERENCE TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1855.

“But I'll acquaint our duteous citizens
Of all our just proceedings in this case.”—SHAKESPEARE.

THE unfortunate issue of the Vienna conference did not stop negotiations nor check intrigues. It will be our duty in this chapter to unfold a general outline of the private proceedings of the various powers, adopting the method hitherto maintained in this History, of giving in detail all negotiations having a practical result, and presenting to the reader the general features only of less fortunate diplomacy.

When the Vienna conference was broken up, Austria continued to use every exertion to patch up a peace which would relieve her from the necessity of maintaining so large a standing army, and remove the chances of her being involved in a struggle for which she had no heart, and by which her policy was, if possible, to profit without the perils or sacrifices of war. Vienna, therefore, continued to be the focus of diplomatic scheming, the ambassadors of all the powers being engaged with incessant activity in efforts to outwit one another, and discover or create some turn of affairs profitable to their respective governments. Austria displayed considerable irritation that Count Buol's proposals concerning the third point at the Vienna conference did not meet the support of the Western governments. This led Lord Clarendon, on the 8th of May, to address Lord Westmoreland on the subject, that the latter might communicate with the government of Vienna as to the opinions of the British cabinet. The English foreign minister, with great firmness, wisdom, and dignity, showed how futile the proposed concessions would practically prove, and arguing that, so far as the third point was concerned, restrictions would be laid in the actual workings of the treaty upon the allies rather than upon Russia. Count Buol artfully, but ineffectually, replied to the able arguments of the British

foreign minister, and continued to urge at one time upon one power, then upon another, modifications of the propositions originally proposed. It is unnecessary to encumber our pages with these discussions; to present our readers with the two series of propositions actually discussed, will enable them, by comparison, to judge for themselves how far it was worth the efforts of the Western powers to hold out as they did for a treaty of peace such as was ultimately obtained:—

FIRST PROPOSITION.

“ART. I.—The high contracting parties, being desirous that the Sublime Porte should participate in the advantages of the good understanding established by the law of nations among the various states of Europe, severally engage to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire, guarantee in common the strict observance of this engagement, and will in consequence consider every act and every event which would be of a nature to endanger it, as a question of European interest. If a difference should arise between the Porte and one of the contracting powers, those two states, before resorting to arms, should place the other powers in a position to obviate this contingency by pacific means.

“ART. II.—The Russian plenipotentiaries and those of the Sublime Porte will propose in common to the conference the equal effective force of the naval armaments which the two sea-bordering powers will maintain in the Black Sea, and which must not exceed the amount of Russian vessels at present afloat in that sea.

“ART. III.—The rule respecting the closing of the straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, established by the treaty of July

13th, 1841, shall remain in force, with the exceptions specified in the following articles:—

“ART. IV.—Each of the contracting powers which has no establishment in the Black Sea, will be authorised by a firman from his highness to send into and station in that sea two frigates or vessels of smaller force.

“ART. V.—In the event of the sultan being menaced with aggression, he reserves to himself the right of opening the straits to all the naval forces of his allies.”

SECOND PROPOSITION.

“ART. I.—(Repetition of Article I. in first proposition).

“ART. II.—The rule respecting the closing of the straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, established by the treaty of July 13th, 1841, shall continue in force, with the exceptions specified in the following articles:—

“ART. III.—Each of the contracting powers which has no establishment in the Black Sea, will be authorised by a firman from his highness, to send into and station in it two frigates or vessels of smaller force, in order to protect their commerce, and to exercise the necessary inspection.

“ART. IV.—If Russia should increase the amount of her naval forces at present afloat, as duly defined, the contracting powers who do not possess an establishment in the Black Sea would be authorised by a firman of his highness, by giving a previous warning of five days, to send respectively into that sea an additional number of vessels of the same class, equal to one-half of the naval forces of Russia.

“ART. V.—At no time will ships of war of foreign nations be allowed to anchor in the Golden Horn, with the exception of the small vessels hitherto admitted belonging to the embassies; and in time of peace the number of ships of the line of the contracting powers which have no establishments in the Black Sea, must never exceed four at a time before Constantinople, on their way from the Dardanelles to the Black Sea, and from the Black Sea to the Dardanelles.

“ART. VI.—In the event of the sultan being menaced with aggression, he reserves to himself the right of opening the Straits to all the naval forces of the allies.”

TRIPARTITE TREATY.

“England, France, and Austria to sign a treaty, binding them,

“1. To enforce the observance of the principle established in the first article, in the event of the violation of the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire by Russia.

“2. To consider as a *casus belli* the increase of the amount or strength of the Russian naval

force in the Black Sea as regards its effective force at the beginning of the war.

“If Russia should herself engage not to exceed that number, the three powers would consent not to give publicity to the treaty.”

After the interchange of various notes, and many ministerial interviews at Vienna, the Western governments demanded from Austria the fulfilment of the treaty of December the 2nd. The imperial cabinet not only refused to join in enforcing any severe terms upon Russia, but declared itself absolved from any obligation to go to war, on the ground that the Western governments were exacting and unjust in their demands, and that their own representatives at Vienna (Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys) had concurred with Count Buol in the propositions for peace which he had introduced. Austria was much emboldened in this faithless but specious course by the manner in which the Cobden and Gladstone sections of the English senate supported her views. Her circulars to her diplomatic agents were pro-Russian in tone, and represented the allies as raising obstacles to peace by the injustice of their demands. This course she followed up by disbanding her war contingents, and addressing a note to the German Diet, declaring that she would not go to war to enforce upon Russia terms so stringent. Her conduct from that time, until the successes of the allies in the Sea of Azoff, at Sweaborg, and ultimately at Sebastopol, again alarmed her lest she should be visited by their anger, was more like that of an ally of the czar than a party to the treaty of the 2nd of December. The Austrian government facilitated in every way the transmission of stores, foreign luxuries, and useful commodities, such as groceries—which can hardly be classed as luxuries—into Russia; even military *matériel* was permitted to pass the frontier, the government conniving at this infraction of neutrality, not to say alliance. The *kasir* rivalled the King of Prussia in friendship to Russia, until the tide of misfortune seemed to set against her too strongly to be stemmed.

The czar took occasion, from the returning friendship of Austria, and her growing coldness to the Western governments, to open negotiations with the German Diet, through M. de Glinka, her accredited agent to that body. The minister made known to the officials at Frankfort, that although the autocrat could not concede the third point of debate at Vienna, he would act upon the other three points so long as the German courts maintained a neutral attitude. The Russian agents all over Germany strained every source of artifice to persuade the confederation to acquiesce in a stipulation of neutrality on these terms. The

press in Germany and Belgium, under Russian influence, advocated the measure with such earnestness as betrayed the great anxiety of the czar's government to effect a treaty on this basis with Germany. The subject, as put by the Russian advocates, may be clearly seen from a single article of the *Indépendance Belge*, published in June:—"There is in Germany a large party which maintains that the first two points of guarantee are the only points that interest the confederation. The German Diet itself, whilst adopting the four points, declared that the first two concerned *especially* German interests. Now those interests are completely cared for by the interpretation adopted at the Vienna conferences, and which Russia declares it is her intention to maintain, whatever may happen. Germany, being thus no longer interested in the result of the struggle between Russia and the Western powers, can have no further motive to meddle in it. Under these circumstances, the departure of M. de Bismarck Schönhausen, the Prussian envoy to the Diet, who, says the *Frankfort Journal*, left Frankfort on the evening of the 9th inst., having been summoned to Berlin by telegraph, and where he in fact arrived on the 10th, has given rise to many surmises. It is supposed to be in connection with this same Russian despatch. If the whole of Germany remains irrevocably neutral, it appears difficult to admit that Austria will go to war alone with Russia. Such is, it is said, the opinion of General Hess himself."

Prussia warmly supported the Russian view, urging the Diet to adopt this course; Austria, partly perhaps from this very reason, and partly because any formal stipulation between Russia and the Diet would fetter her own policy, and possibly involve her in a final quarrel with Western Europe, dissuaded the Diet from entering into any contract. Count Walewski, the French foreign minister, exerted himself to thwart these schemes, and issued several circular notes to the diplomatic agents of France, which ably analysed the policy of Russia and Germany, and made such comments upon the course of their negotiations and secret intrigues, as tended to keep the whole subject in a fair light before the eyes of Europe.

During the summer Austria made many attempts to re-open negotiations upon a basis favourable to Russia, but was foiled by the sagacity of the English premier and foreign minister. The diplomatic papers of Lord Clarendon sifted the arguments and pretences employed by Russia and the German powers, allowing nothing to escape his penetration. During the autumn, Prussia was more active than Austria in the game of intrigue. The tone and spirit of Frederick William may be seen in his address at the opening of the Prus-

sian Chambers in the month of October:—"The conflict between several European powers is not yet at an end. Our fatherland, however, continues to be the abode of peace. I trust in God that it will remain so; and that I shall succeed in preserving the honour and standing of Prussia, without inflicting upon our country the heavy sacrifices of war. I am proud to say that I know of no people so well prepared for war, or more ready for sacrifices than my own, whenever its honour or interests are really in danger. This proud consciousness, however, imposes upon me the duty, while abiding faithfully by obligations already contracted, not to enter into further engagements, the political and military liabilities of which are not to be estimated beforehand. In the attitude assumed by Prussia, Austria, and Germany, behold a security for the further maintenance of that independent position which is equally conducive to the attainment of an equitable and lasting peace, and compatible with sincere good wishes for all."

That his Prussian majesty was not much concerned for the justice of the cause which involved the great nations in arms, and that he, personally, felt no apprehension or dislike of the aggressive and despotic policy of Russia, was plain from that speech, if there had been no other circumstances to betray his sympathies with Muscovite policy.

The proceedings of Austria greatly exasperated the English people, and their exasperation was raised still higher by the arrest, in the Danubian principalities, of a Colonel Turr by the Austrians, then in occupation of that territory. They alleged that the colonel was a deserter; the English consul, Mr. Colquhoun, demanded his liberation as an English officer. The Austrian commander treated Mr. Colquhoun with indignity, which it is astonishing the British government endured. The colonel was committed to prison, and, after much negotiation, was released by the Austrian authorities as an act of favour and friendship to the English government.

The feeling in France was nearly as strong against Austria as in England, and a startling exemplification of it arose, which led to diplomatic alarm and correspondence. The French emperor patronised an industrial exhibition, to which reference has been made in the chapter on the visit to Paris of her Britannic Majesty. At the close of the exhibition, the emperor delivered an address, in which allusion of a hostile nature was supposed to be made to the German powers, especially to Austria. The address was as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,—The exhibition which is about to close offers a grand spectacle to the world

It is during a severe war that, from all points of the universe, men the most distinguished in science, arts, and industry, have flocked to Paris to exhibit their productions. This competition, under such circumstances, is due, I am pleased to think, to that general conviction that the war which has been undertaken only threatens those who provoked it; that it is pursued for the interest of all; and that Europe, far from regarding it as a danger for the future, finds it rather a pledge of independence and security.

"All of you, therefore, who think that the progress of the agriculture, the industry, and the commerce of a nation contribute to the welfare of all others, and that the more reciprocal relations are multiplied, the more national prejudices are effaced, say to your fellow-citizens, on returning to your country, that France entertains no hatred against any nation, and that she feels sympathy towards all those who wish, like her, for the triumph of right and justice.

"Tell them that, if they desire peace, they must openly, at least, express wishes either for or against us, for, in the midst of a serious European conflict, indifference is a bad calculation, and silence an error.

"As for us, nations allied for the triumph of a great cause, let us forge arms without slackening our manufactures, and without stopping our looms; let us be great by the arts of peace as by those of war; let us be strong by concord, and let us put our trust in God to make us triumph over the difficulties of the present and the chances of the future."

The astonishment produced all through Europe by this speech was intense, and in Austria the effect was a feeling of mingled fear and rage. It was deemed politic by the allies to allay the excitement this created; and, accordingly, M. Walewski addressed the following circular to the French diplomatic agents at the various courts:—

"I am informed, from different parts of Germany, that the speech of the emperor, at the closing of the Universal Exhibition has caused, as was to be expected, a deep impression. However, it is said not to have been appreciated everywhere in the same manner, and to have become the subject of different interpretations. There can, however, be but one, and the neutral states could not be mistaken on sentiments upon which they can only congratulate themselves.

"The emperor said that he desired a prompt and durable peace; I need not dwell upon that declaration: it explains itself, and needs no comment.

"In addressing himself to neutral states,

calling upon them to express wishes in this sense, his imperial majesty sufficiently testified the price he attached to their opinion, and the value he gives to their influence in the course of events. Such, moreover, was his opinion respecting them from the very commencement of the diplomatic conflict which preceded hostilities. The emperor always thought that if they had then more forcibly expressed their judgment upon the point under discussion, they would have exercised a salutary action upon the resolution of the power that provoked the war. Their position has undergone no change in the eyes of his imperial majesty, and they may now, by a firm and decided attitude, hasten the *dénouement* of a struggle which, it is his conviction, they might have prevented.

"It is with this view that the emperor asks them to declare openly how they are disposed towards the belligerent powers, and to place the weight of their opinion in the scales of the respective forces. This appeal, moreover, which was so well understood and so warmly received by an audience formed of the representatives of all nations, is simply a solemn act of homage rendered to the importance and efficiency of the task which devolves upon neutrals in the actual crisis."

This circular somewhat quieted the ferment in Germany, especially in Austria, but did not allay the alarm. It was supposed that the bold speech of the emperor had exercised a powerful influence upon the Austrian court, and led it to believe that the time had arrived when a decision must be taken for or against the allies. To avert the necessity of a recourse to arms either way, the ministers of the *casar* were ordered to renew their exertions to find some method of securing peace. The mother of the *casar* and the mother of the czar were said to be active in promoting this object, although the latter opened the correspondence for the purpose of securing the neutrality of Austria.

Meanwhile, at Berlin, neither the French emperor's menacing speech, nor his foreign minister's diplomatic explanations, extinguished the plots which went on, under the patronage of Frederick William, in favour of Russia. The policy of this prince was to form a league of all the sovereigns of Germany with Russia. This aim of the king and his cabinet was supported by the ministers who represented at Berlin most of the minor German states—those of Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Nassau, Oldenburg, and Saxony, were zealous for the formation of such a league, although held back by apprehensions of the consequences: even our cousins of Hanover, and Saxe Cobourg and Gotha, were said to be as deeply compromised as any of the sovereigns unconnected with the British court. It was significantly remarked at the

time, by a politician conversant with the state of things in Germany, especially at Berlin, "The treacherous neutrality of Prussia may probably prove as fatal to her as the treaty of Basle, in 1795."

The zealous efforts of the Russian government to conclude an alliance with Persia, not merely for the objects of this war, but with ulterior designs, have been noticed in previous chapters. At the juncture of which we write, these efforts were strenuously renewed. The shah sent an ambassador to congratulate the young czar on his accession to the imperial throne. This act of courtesy was not resolved upon by the court of Teheran until a very long time after that august event. It was not until the autumn that the especial envoy of the shah reached the capital of the czars. Rumours then prevailed in St. Petersburg that so much was the Persian sovereign influenced by the pertinacity and successes of the allies, that he could only be induced to send an especial embassy by large presents from the Russian emperor. A letter from Berlin thus commented upon the events of this mission:—"The Persian residents in Tiflis welcomed the arrival of the ambassador in a manner peculiar to their nation. They took up their station on the right side of the road leading into Tiflis, each with a sheep, which, as the carriage of the ambassador drove past, each of them sacrificially slaughtered with a knife held in readiness. The Persian embassy, and all connected with it, are reported to enjoy very freely the pleasures that the Russians procure for them; they frequent the theatre, and take particular pleasure in the ballets produced there. Prince Bebutoff had given them a dinner and a ball, at the former of which the ambassador had proposed the health of the 'faithful and constant ally of the Emperor of Russia, his highness the shah,' and afterwards that of 'the emperor of Russia, the friend and ally of the mighty ruler of Persia.'"

The most remarkable phase of diplomacy on the part of the allies, until the close of the year, appeared in connection with Sweden.

Previously, the Scandinavian States could not be moved to do anything for the alliance, except to express their hearty good wishes. Denmark preserved its neutrality, on the whole, honourably—the court leaning to Russia, the people to the allies. And even when Sweden responded to the allied overtures, Denmark still persisted in neutrality. The influence of Norway in the councils of the united kingdoms of Norway and Sweden was very decidedly put forth in favour of the allies, and conduced to the favourable reception of General Canrobert as their envoy to negotiate an alliance. The importance of an alliance between Western Europe and the Scandinavian States, in a

contest of either with Russia,* has been already noticed in a former chapter; it is only necessary, therefore, to glance in passing at that importance here. The eagerness with which Russia sought to encroach upon Norwegian territory by various artifices, proved that her policy was far-sighted, and her objects beyond the mere acquisition of a little more land. The possession of Norway would give to Russia an Atlantic coast and good seamen; accordingly, she had long made attempts to gain a position in Varangen Fjord, on the coast of the North Cape. The vast harbour of the fjord is seldom frozen, affording a highway to the ocean all the year, the great necessity to Russia in her ambition to become an Atlantic power. Her designs upon Denmark had been also developing themselves for a considerable time, indicating a new danger to Western Europe. Denmark, by its geographical position, is of great political importance as an ally to the West. The Straits of the Sound, situated between the Baltic and the German Ocean, are as much impediments to the development of Russian naval power against Western Europe, as the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles against her designs upon Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean. The policy of Great Britain and France was, clearly, to strengthen these northern states, and to foster Scandinavianism as a bulwark against the ambition of St. Petersburg. Nearly seven millions of brave and intelligent men—good soldiers, good sailors, and occupying an important position—would obstruct the progress of Russian despotism if the Scandinavian States were united, and on terms of alliance with France and England. There can be little doubt that King Oscar would have drawn the sword as gallantly as Victor Emanuel, were it not that the tone of the Vienna conferences led him and Europe generally to think that there was a deficiency in the earnestness of the confederacy formed against Russia. It cannot be denied that, while the allies were desirous to commit Sweden and Denmark to a war with their formidable neighbour, there did not appear to be any desire to offer political advantages commensurate with the risk. Thus the Scandinavian nations held themselves aloof from all active participation in the war. At last the allies resolved to intrust to General Canrobert a mission to these courts, especially to that of Sweden. They probably committed it to him because the emperor of the French was desirous to show to Europe his unimpaired confidence in his favourite general, notwithstanding his failure to do all that was hoped from him in the Crimea. His mission was more especially to the court of Sweden, and it was ostensibly made to confer a decoration, as a mark of personal esteem, from the emperor to the Swedish king.

The general arrived at Stockholm on the 5th of November, and on the 7th the monarch gave him an interview. His arrival in Sweden was hailed with acclamation; court and people emulated one another in paying him respect. He arrived at the palace in a superb court carriage. On his way the populace shouted "*Vive Canrobert!*" "*Vive la France!*" His reception was dignified, and his mission successful.

The correspondent of the *Moniteur* thus described the progress of the envoy from his hotel to the palace, and the respect accorded to him:—"Shortly before one o'clock the great master of the ceremonies, Count Gyldenstolpe, conducted the ambassador from his hotel in a carriage drawn by eight horses, preceded by two runners. By the side of the carriage walked six footmen, and each horse was held by a groom in grand costume. This carriage was followed by another, drawn by four horses, in which was the aide-de-camp of the ambassador, and the Swedish captain, Count Bjornstjerna, aide-de-camp to the king, who has been placed at the disposal of General Canrobert during his stay in Stockholm. In the hall of the castle the ambassador was received by the first marshal of the palace, surrounded by the officers of the court, who accompanied the ambassador to the apartments of his majesty. At the top of the staircase were posted twenty-four men, as a guard of honour; in the ball-room were twelve pages in livery at one of the doors, whilst the officers of the body-guard were at another; in the lower part of the great gallery was the personal staff of the king. At the door of the bed-chamber, where the audience took place, was posted his majesty's body-guard. When the ambassador entered, the first chamberlain, Count de Lœwenhaupt, advanced towards him, and conducted him to the king with the grand master of the ceremonies. All the doors were open. At the side of his majesty were the Dukes of Ost-Gothland and Delecarlia, with the minister of state for foreign affairs, the Baron Stjerneld. The ambassador pronounced an address, and handed the insignia of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour to the king. When his majesty had replied, the doors were closed. At a quarter to three the ambassador was conducted back to his hotel with the same ceremony. In going, as in returning, the streets and places were crowded with persons, who loudly expressed their sympathies. A grand dinner was given in the evening by the king, in the queen's banqueting-room, at which were present the following personages:—the crown-prince and princess, with their suite; the ambassador, with his aide-de-camp; the French embassy at Stockholm, the high dignitaries of the crown, and Admiral Virgin."

The result of General Canrobert's negotiations was, a treaty between the united kingdom of Sweden and Norway, on the one hand, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with France, on the other. This treaty was signed on the 21st of November, and the ratifications were exchanged at Stockholm on the 17th of December. The following is a correct translation of that document:—

Treaty between Her Majesty, the Emperor of the French, and the King of Sweden and Norway.

"Her majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his majesty the Emperor of the French, and his majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, being anxious to avert any complication which might disturb the existing balance of power in Europe, have resolved to come to an understanding with a view to secure the integrity of the united kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, and have named as their plenipotentiaries to conclude a treaty for that purpose" [here follow the names and official titles], "who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:—

"ART. I.—His majesty the King of Sweden and Norway engages not to cede to nor to exchange with Russia, nor to permit her to occupy any part of the territories belonging to the crowns of Sweden and Norway. His majesty the King of Sweden and Norway engages, further, not to cede to Russia any right of pasturage, of fishery, or of any other nature whatsoever, either on the said territories or upon the coast of Sweden and Norway, and to resist any pretension which may be put forward by Russia with a view to establish the existence of any of the rights aforesaid.

"ART. II.—In case Russia should make to his majesty the King of Sweden and Norway any proposal or demand, having for its object to obtain either the cession or the exchange of any part whatsoever of the territories belonging to the crowns of Sweden and Norway, or the power of occupying certain points of the said territories, or the cession of rights of fishery, of pasturage, or of any other right upon the said territories and upon the coasts of Sweden and Norway, his majesty the King of Sweden and Norway engages forthwith to communicate such proposal or demand to her Britannic Majesty and his majesty the Emperor of the French; and their said majesties, on their part, engage to furnish to his majesty the King of Sweden and Norway sufficient naval and military forces, to co-operate with the naval and military forces of his said majesty, for the purpose of resisting the pretensions or aggressions of Russia. The description, number, and destination of such forces

shall, if occasion should arise, be determined by common agreement between the three powers. Done at Stockholm, the 21st of November, in the year of our Lord, 1855.

“ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

“V. LÖBSTEIN.

“SIERNELD.”

The conclusion of this treaty caused an extraordinary sensation in most of the nations immediately concerned. In England there was a quiet and profound satisfaction, mingled with some disappointment that the Swedes and Norwegians did not engage to join in the contest, which was expected to be renewed with redoubled fierceness in the ensuing spring. Denmark—at least the court of Copenhagen—regarded the matter with distrust, although the Danes rejoiced in the prospect of events drawing closer the Scandinavian and Western states. The Prussian people, to some extent, participated in the good feeling of the Danes; but his Prussian majesty looked upon the alliance with alarm. Austria was jealous of the whole transaction: Russia was enraged, offering, through her journals in Russia, Germany, and Belgium, insult and menace to the Norwegians, Swedes, and their king. It was said by persons most conversant with the opinion of the Russian court and chancellerie, that this treaty had a powerful influence in determining Russia to avoid another campaign in the Baltic, believing that events would necessarily press the Swedish court into a struggle, where the heart of the people was with the allies. In France the most sanguine expectations were entertained as to the ultimate effect of the agreement that had been formed with the court of Stockholm. The following letter, written from Paris at the time, will convey the true state of feeling in France generally, and among French politicians, upon the subject:—“The result of the mission of General Canrobert to Stockholm appears in this day’s *Moniteur*. It was not the presentation of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, nor yet a ‘sentimental journey’ in quest of an unmeaning sympathy, but rather a mission fit to be intrusted to such an envoy. This treaty is an act of the highest importance. Its execution will place a limit, once for all, to the encroachments of Russia in the north of Europe. The Baltic will be rescued from her aggression, and Sweden saved from her fatal influence. In those latitudes she can no longer expect an inch of territory, or shelter for her war vessels, or harbour for her fishing-boats. It is, indeed, a fatal blow struck at her maritime and commercial power. The treaty fixes no date for its expiration. It is for ever, then, that Sweden engages to resist Russian encroachment, and it is for ever the allies will support her in

her resistance, and it attaches indefinitely the policy of Sweden to the policy and interests of the West. It is a proof of the confidence and union, the community of interests, which subsists between the contracting parties for their mutual protection against the common enemy. It is an immense step in advance, if we consider that Sweden also had proclaimed her neutrality, and, up to this, maintained it; and with whatever indifference Russia may affect to regard this act, or to reduce its importance, she cannot but feel that it is one of hostility against her, and, if words mean anything, the policy thus proclaimed will be transformed on the very first occasion into an open rupture. A *defensive* treaty is only yet before us; but it is more than probable that another part exists which provides for other ‘eventualities’ than those now mentioned. The services we engage to render Sweden by supporting her against Russian aggression are doubtless reciprocated. If we send our armies and our fleets to co-operate with those of Sweden in her own defence, it can hardly be without the certainty that Sweden will aid us when we call upon her. There would be no great merit in King Oscar employing his own forces with ours in repelling the enemy from his own territory. Were he single-handed against Russia, he would try to do so. If we engage to protect Sweden, it is because we intend that Sweden shall do something for us which will expose her to the hostility of Russia; and that something can hardly be less than co-operation with us next spring in our operations in the north. There is clearly an eventuality of a conflict in the treaty, and it is absurd to suppose that in such case a complete accord does not already exist, and that stipulations have not been agreed to in providing for events which may occur at any moment. That we shall try our strength in those parts next year is hardly to be doubted; and is it to be believed that, in the event of our needing assistance in those seas, or on those shores, we shall not have that of Sweden in return, for the defence we promise her? At all events, this treaty may justly be considered as among the most important facts of our times. In the north as in the south, in the Baltic as in the Black Sea, Russia is stopped short in her career of aggression; Sweden will be as fatal to her as Turkey, so long as both rely on the combined strength of England and France. For us the adhesion of King Oscar is an additional guarantee for the independence of Europe.”

In Paris the prevailing idea was that in the spring an expedition to Courland would be undertaken by a Swedish and French army, with the object of compelling Austria and Prussia to declare themselves. Both in France and England the restoration of Finland to

Sweden became a subject of popular desire; the public press and the more advanced politicians did not, however, encourage the idea, knowing the jealousy entertained by Norway to any increase in the relative strength of Sweden.

Before the Swedish treaty was ratified, General Canrobert repaired to the court of Copenhagen. In that city also his reception was enthusiastic by the people, and was respectful by the court. The Danish king met the negotiator, however, with a decision that was conclusive; he would not only remain neutral in the war, but he would bind himself by no engagements to the allies in reference to his future policy; his heart was with the czar. He, however, dissembled as well as he could, and made various demonstrations of goodwill to the allied sovereigns, if not to the cause of the allies. At a banquet on the 2nd of December, the day of the general's arrival, and given in his honour, the king caused the ambassador to be seated beside him, and gave as a toast the health of the French emperor.

After the treaty with Sweden, Austria seemed in a fever of anxiety to find terms of peace such as she might propose to Russia. Her difficulty in correspondence with the Western powers arose from the fact that England insisted upon terms more stringent than France was willing to accept. The latter country was jealous of England, and desired not to humble Russia too much, but to preserve her in a condition to be a counterpoise to the power of England, especially in the East. Her Britannic majesty could not prosecute the war alone; and any attempt to go beyond France in her demands, might throw her powerful ally into the arms of her enemy, and cause a European coalition against herself. Austria was enabled, therefore, to obtain better terms for Russia than she at first expected, and addressed the court of St. Petersburg in a tone which indicated that, unless these terms were accepted, Austria must for her own security and interests join her arms to those of the allies. Prussia professed to support the Austrian views, but her efforts were really directed to gain still better terms for her beloved Russia. In the midst of these newly-opened negotiations the year 1855 terminated. The solicitude of Austria to effect a peace was obvious to all Europe; her position at that juncture was peculiar, and it was her urgent interest to bring the war to an end. It is necessary for the reader to take a comprehensive view of the whole political relations of Austria at the close of the year 1855, to penetrate her policy in making such determined exertions to restore peace to Europe. This great historic power, so long famous as the "holy Roman empire,"

until Napoleon I., with sacrilegious hands, as popes and kasirs believed, stripped it of its title, and held its existence at his mercy, was, at the end of 1855, in the first throes and struggles of another great crisis. The revolutions in 1848 swept over it as a gale, which strips the forest of its foliage and branches, but does not uproot the trees. Austria lost in wealth and glory, but she survived the storm, stripped of much which conduced to her power, dignity, and influence. That rude ordeal had passed away, as the tempest passes, but, like it also, left its traces, long to abide, when it was itself no longer present, and its passage perhaps forgotten. Although short as was the time which had elapsed since 1848, and terrible as were the effects of the revolution upon Austria, the prospects and difficulties of the empire were as independent of the great political convulsions of that period as if they had never occurred. We guard ourselves from being supposed to affirm that Austria was not still very much influenced by the Vienna, Lombard, Venetian, and Hungarian revolutions. We mean simply to place the idea before our readers prominently, that, irrespective of the influence of those events, novel complications invested the Austrian empire with a network of difficulty. The transitions through which it had been passing were marvellously rapid; it appeared as if that empire were in the crater of a volcano, which was composed of all Europe. Austria seemed in the very centre of every new political embroglio, and her history had been for several years little more than a passage from one stupendous exigency to another. To the nationalities of her own empire her position was only changed in two respects, since the revolution of 1848 burst upon her dominions. Her central power and authority over the various nationalities which constituted the empire were much increased, and the hatred of these nationalities to the central government had increased proportionately. A successful revolt would entail consequences, beyond all calculation more destructive to the central government than in 1848 it possibly could have done. Then Hungary might have been in arms against the kasir, and Croatia, ambitious to be an integral part of the empire, have no sympathy with Hungarian grievances or claims; Italy might be in revolt for the purpose of forming an Italian republic; but the people of the Tyrol might be loyal, and Bohemia feel proud of the old imperial prestige. Even Vienna might be in arms for a red republic, and yet be jealous of a Hungarian invasion. How different at the close of 1855! One common oppression kept down all; all these several limbs of the empire were bound by the chain of a common thralldom. It became at last the interest of the Viennese that the central power should be

weakened by excisions of the remoter governments. It became rather a hope than a fear to the Vienna citizen who valued liberty, if Milan and Venice blazed—if blood streamed above the ruins of broken and pillaged Brescia—if Pesth was a garrison of insurgents, and Prague became a capital of revolt! The only hope of the Austrian was in the ruin of Austria! This was as novel as it was horrible, and proved to every observer that a terrible change was impending. He who "holdeth the winds in his fists," seemed to be preparing the theatre of the storm for the hurricane he intended to hurl in desolating power upon it. The external relations of Austria were so complicated, that no statesmanship could steer her through their intricate passages, had war continued and involved her in its circle. Her relation to Prussia was pretty much what it had generally been, one of suspicion and rivalry; her relation to the pope was also very much the same as usual; concordats and disputes were parts of the old story told over again. Her relations to the Porte were very much like what they used to be, treacherous and selfish; she was not for the first time anxious to get the principalities. But the connections of Austria with the great powers, and with Italy, were most singular. All Italy was ripe for revolt once more: even Naples muttered the first rumours of popular insurgency. The King of Sardinia had the sympathy of Italy and of Western Europe, and would have proved a formidable foe to Austria in any struggle which Italian insurrection might invite. To France the position of Austria was very peculiar—her rival in the Roman states, her ally in eastern Europe, her enemy, dynastic and hereditary! England had been the great reliance of the kasir, his old and proved ally. Thence subsidies might be expected in any European war; conservative, aristocratic, legitimist England would be sure to hold up a power such as Austria, the *beau ideal* of these once fashionable virtues. But England had lost her first love in these respects, and was regarded by Austria as revolutionary, democratic, virulently heretical, the moral and political pest and ulcer of Europe. She could no longer find in England a counterpoise to France, the bugbear of Austrian policy. But it was her relation to Russia which most complicated her affairs, and which was most likely, if she succeeded in putting down the revolutionary mania, more than ever active in her dominions, to embroil

her in foreign wars. Russia was at once her temptation and her terror: she had nothing to gain anywhere but in a war with Russia, and nowhere so much to apprehend. The partition of Poland was the doom of Austria, for it advanced the Russian frontier, and in a direction more dangerous than any other. There was no barrier left between Warsaw and Vienna; a single campaign in that frontier would bring the eagles of the czar to the gates of the capital. Maria Theresa was the only person at the court who appeared to foresee this at the period of the first partition. She reluctantly took part in the foul work, and when she considered that there was no strong military line of defence between the new Austro-Russian frontier and Vienna, she wanted to retrace her steps, but was overborne by the ambition and invidious nationality of her statesmen and counsellors. Her reply then was, "*Placeat*, because so many great and learned men will have it so; but long after I am dead and gone, people will see what will happen for breaking through everything holy and just." Austria then obtained some territory from Poland, and some from Wallachia; the remaining partitions were even less to her interests, and as little to her honour; Russia chiefly profited. Austria feels this; Metternich and Schwartzenburg had deplored it; Buol did not less deplore it. If Austria was not apprehensive of revolt in her own empire, her policy as a European power would be more anti-Russian than any other. Her critical case was, that the more she weakened Russia, the more hope she inspired in the nationalities who feared Russia and not her; and the more she strengthened Russia, the more she hastened the time when the kasir must become a vassal of the czar. If England had been the upholder of popes and kasirs, as in days of yore, that would have been the solution of Austria's difficulties; but that day was gone, beyond the power of Derby or Aberdeen, Graham or Gladstone, to restore. The dismemberment of the Austrian empire, by a great central European revolution, seemed not far off. All nations desired that the Babylon of Vienna might perish. The court and cabinet knew this, and were impelled by such considerations to quench if possible a war, the unforeseen conflagrations of which might destroy the Austrian empire. A future chapter will record the success with which the diplomacy of Austria extricated herself from impending peril, and Russia from the consequences of the war which that power had provoked.

CHAPTER CXVII.

ASSUMPTION OF THE COMMAND-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH ARMY BY SIR W. J. CODRINGTON.
—TERRIBLE EXPLOSION OF GUNPOWDER, AND GREAT LOSS OF LIFE.—A SECOND WINTER
IN THE CRIMEA, TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1855.

"Fled is the blasted verdure of the fields,
And, shrunk into their beds, the flowery race
Their sunny robes resign." THOMSON.

THE first matter of importance connected with the period to which this chapter will relate, was the appointment to the command of the British army by Lieutenant-general Sir W. J. Codrington. On the 12th of November he published the following "order:"—

"I have assumed the command of the army in obedience to her majesty's orders. It is with a feeling of pride and with a feeling of confidence in the support which I know will be readily given to any officer honoured with such a commission.

"The armies of France and Sardinia are united with us on this ground. We know their gallantry well, for we have seen it; we know their friendship, for we have profited by it; we have shared difficulties, dangers, and successes—the groundwork of mutual esteem; and all will feel it our pleasure, as well as our duty, to carry on that kindly intercourse which is due to the intimate alliance of the nations themselves. Our army will always preserve its high character in the field. The sobriety, the good conduct, and the discipline which it is our duty to maintain, are the best sureties of future success, and I trust to the efforts and assistance of all ranks in thus keeping the army to be an instrument of honour, of power, and of credit to England."

The course of this officer had been very remarkable. He had never seen an engagement until the breaking out of this war, although he was over fifty years of age when he took upon himself the command of the army, fourteen months after he first came under the fire of the enemy at the battle of the Alma. Sir William was a son of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, who commanded the allied navies at the battle of Navarino, one of the noblest officers of the British fleet. Sir Edward then fought against Turkey, England being the ally of Russia; his son was eventually called upon to command an army in alliance with the forces of Turkey against that power. Sir William's whole service had been in the Guards up to June, 1854, when he became a major-general. Upon the expedition to Turkey taking place, he went out as a volunteer; but on obtaining his promotion, he also obtained the command of a brigade, in the room of General Airey, to whom at that juncture the post of adjutant-general was confided. The brigade

of General Codrington was in the light division, under Sir George Brown, and consisted of the 7th Royal Fusiliers, the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, the 33rd (Duke of Wellington's Own), and the 2nd battalion of the Rifle Brigade. At the battles of Alma and Inkerman both the brigade and the brigadier distinguished themselves. When Sir George Brown retired from the command of the light division, Codrington was promoted to the vacancy. On the 8th of September, during the assault upon the Redan, he lost that presence of mind which had previously characterised him, and was deficient in that boldness and promptitude for which he had acquired reputation. Notwithstanding his acknowledged failure there, the feeling of the army was in his favour when he obtained the chief command. It was generally thought that he ought to have "another chance" of making a great military name, as well as of serving his country. Sir William was a favourite with the court, and it is probable that he owed his promotion so rapidly to that, rather than to any other circumstance.

General Codrington had various circumstances in his favour when he received the appointment of commander-in-chief. The army had been reinforced; the previous commander was not a man of brilliant parts, although painstaking, industrious, and honest. The winter had not yet set in with Crimean severity, so that he had time to finish the preparations which had been making to meet it; these preparations were on a great scale, and in many respects very efficient. The health of the troops was satisfactory, and the state of the hospitals and medical arrangements formed a happy contrast to the condition of matters in these respects the previous year. A correspondent of the *Daily News* gave the following concise and clear account of hospital affairs:—"I have taken some pains to gain an accurate knowledge of the present state of the Crimean hospitals, and the result has been in the highest degree satisfactory. Without pretending to any more minute or accurate information as to their proper medical stores than can be gleaned in conversation with very courteous and communicative doctors, I may say that, as far as the eye can guide one in forming an opinion as to their completeness in all points of space, furniture, cleanliness, creature-comforts, and attendance, there seems little that the most fasti-

dious friend of the sick soldier could desire to have altered or added. In the great majority of the regimental hospitals, warm, double-walled, and spacious huts have been substituted for marquees; and in those where the change has not yet taken place, it will be made before winter finally sets in. At the general hospital, Balaklava, where the patients are mixed—sick civilians being taken in as well as military cases—the arrangements and method in which they are carried out seem alike admirable; and under the assiduous medical oversight of Dr. Jameson, and the unwearied attentions of Miss Weir and her auxiliary Sisters of Charity, the patients seem most excellently cared for. At the larger establishment of the Castle Hospital on the Genoese Heights, where there are at present about 400 patients—all wounded men—the system appears to be equally complete in all respects, and its administration, under Dr. Matthews, if possible yet more efficient. This hospital consists of an aggregate of some fifteen or eighteen large, double-walled, and double-roofed huts, erected along the summit of the rocky height, at whose base the unfortunate ship *Prince* was dashed to pieces in the great November storm of last year; and, though perched on such an eminence, it is tolerably sheltered by still higher cliffs on all sides but that which faces the sea. To screen the huts in some degree from the wind from this last quarter, curtains of earth-filled gabions have been erected close behind the sea-gables."

At the period when General Codrington's command began, the Tartar population were less willing to convey intelligence of the enemy. They had suffered much; the destruction of forage in the Valley of Baidar rendered it impossible for them to support their cattle; those who had possessed plenty, and had given freely, were obliged to sell nuts and potatoes opposite their own doors, where abundance had been at their command. The czar, too, had ordered the confiscation of the property of that population, in favour of the Greek volunteers, whom furious fanaticism had brought to his ranks. The Tartar people were uneasy, timid, dubious of the allies, and became desirous to conceal, rather than disclose, as they had formerly so freely done, the movements of the Russian troops. The fears of these poor Tartars were but too well founded; after the preliminaries of peace were signed, the persecutions to which they were subjected increased, and, to the discredit of the allies, they lent no helping hand, and used no efficient mediation, to secure immunity to a population which had been so friendly. We shall take the opportunity to introduce here the remarks on this subject of a gentleman who had been in captivity with the Russians as a prisoner of war, and who relates what he saw of Tartar suffer-

ings, not only at the time of which we write, but up to the period of his release:—"I have just returned to England after having had five months' experience of Russian prisons. To dwell on my hardships and the degradation of my feelings on a march of 133 days with convicts into the interior of that country is not the object of this letter. My desire is to fix instant attention on the pitiable condition of hundreds of the wretched Tartar population of the Crimea who are festering in Muscovite prisons, or on march to exile, guilty of no other crime than that of having supplied provisions to the allied troops. At Simpheropol I saw them lying in the loathsome cells of the town; on the roads I saw them dragged from their homes, chained, beaten, wending their way, as I was informed, to the horrors of Siberian exile. They looked for pity, not unmingled with hope, to the friendly tones of their English fellow-captives. Let not the sorrowful sighing of these prisoners and their trust in English sympathy be vain. Let these lines, supported by England's powerful appeal, claim regard to their sufferings, and challenge remedy for their wrongs. The peace that has been signed will diffuse joy throughout Russia: let the magnanimity of their emperor, who has restored this blessing to his vast domains, give back the Crimean exiles to their hearths. No subjects in all the Russias have suffered more than the wretched inhabitants of that Crimea which war has made desolate. Then, let England and her allies plead that to these unhappy Tartars this last drop in the cup of their gall and bitterness may be spared which bereaves them of their fathers, their brothers, and their sons. An act of grace to these condemned men would be a monument more enduring than that of brass to the generosity of him who should extend to them his imperial favour, and restore them to the homes which may still be left, where, around the family altar, they might implore a blessing on his head."

In November various promotions were made of superior officers serving in the East, as the following extract from the *Gazette* shows:—"Major-general Sir William John Codrington, K.C.B., who has at present the local rank of lieutenant-general in the Crimea and in Turkey. Colonel Lord William Paulet, C.B., brigadier-general in Turkey, to have the local rank of major-general in Turkey. Colonel Duncan Cameron, C.B., 42nd foot, brigadier-general in Turkey, to have the local rank of major-general in Turkey. To be lieutenant-colonels in the army—Major Charles John Woodford, Rifle Brigade; Captain and Brevet-major Charles Henry Morris, Royal Artillery; Brevet-major Henry Atwell Lake, of the Madras Engineers, for his services in the defence of Kars. Brevet-colonel William Fenwick Wil-

Hams, C.B., of the Royal Artillery, to be promoted to the rank of major-general in the army, for distinguished service in the field; Captain and Lieutenant-colonel Studholm Brownrigg, C.B., Grenadier Guards, to be colonel in the army, for distinguished service in the field."

Officers in the inferior grades obtained brevet promotion to a considerable extent, a measure which tended to promote the efficiency of the service, as well as to diffuse satisfaction among both officers and men. The command of General Codrington was not signalised by any increased activity of the allies, who continued rather to watch the enemy than to act against him. Notwithstanding the general opinion that there was deficiency of spirit, activity, and enterprise on the part of the commanders of the allied armies, one very able observer, a gentleman who, although a civilian, was competent to pronounce an opinion upon military affairs (Sir Edward Colebrook), to some extent justifies this inaction, although on some grounds he censures it as unsparingly as other critics have done. Describing the condition of the northern side of Sebastopol during General Simpson's command, and for some time after that of General Codrington's, Sir Edward observes:—"There was a lull in the war, as if the great combatants had reeled in the struggle, and were unwilling to begin again. Meanwhile the Russians were active with the spade; their working-parties were hard at work at various points, without any attempt on our part to molest them, until a few days later, when a small mortar-battery was placed by the French behind Fort Nicholas. The whole scene vividly recalled what I witnessed last October, when the enemy were allowed without the slightest interruption to raise those works that cost us a twelvemonth to subdue. Our neglect seemed to me unpardonable, and if it does admit of explanation, it must be on the ground that the batteries already raised by the Russians were so strong that we could not raise opposing works sufficient to cope with them, except at a great sacrifice, and without the prospect of any solid advantage in return. It may have been considered that any small works raised by us would have been crushed by the enemy's fire, and great works would have led to no great advantage. I presume such reasons had sway in deciding our chiefs. They do not appear conclusive to me, for powerful mortar-batteries would have increased the difficulty of holding that position very materially, and I think every effort should have been used to make his tenure as disagreeable as possible.*

* "The Russian works appeared to consist (independent of Fort Severnain) of a line of earthworks facing the sea; secondly, a number of detached batteries or redoubts facing the harbour, which line was defended by Forts Constantine and Alexander; thirdly, an intrenched camp of considerable size towards the east. I am told

Any attempt on our part to harass the enemy in this quarter (for it was evident we could do little more) must, however, be subordinate to that far more important one which pressed on the consideration of the allies—whether any effective blow in the field could be struck against the enemy at this advanced season of the year. In discussing this I must assume two things, on neither of which can I pretend to speak confidently. First, that the Russian army, though weakened in numbers, was strong in efficiency, and anything but demoralised by their defeat. Secondly, that the allied force was also efficient, and that they had a large disposable force that they could have once put in motion. I see that the English papers (I am writing this after leaving Constantinople on my homeward voyage) assume that the Russians were not merely beaten but routed. Such an assumption is purely gratuitous, and is no way borne out by the facts of the retreat. They retired to a position of the greatest natural strength. The line of cliffs was unbroken, except at particular points where the roads were defended by batteries and redoubts, and it was not to be turned except at such a distance from our line of attack as to render any combination very hazardous.

"The same circumstance which placed a large force at our command, also disengaged a large army of the enemy, which, instead of being cooped up in the town, was disposable for the defence of the Crimea. To attack a position far stronger than that which had kept us at bay for a twelvemonth, defended by a force conscious of its strength, and with the prospect (supposing the heights carried at a sacrifice of life) of having siege operations to amuse us in the winter, and all the horrors of open trenches in such a climate over again,—such an enterprise would have been madness, except in the contingency that the Russians had been so neglectful as to have no fortified position to fall back upon, or that our chiefs had such certain information of their weakness and disorganisation as to justify the attempt. It is always to be borne in mind that we could not venture on an attack without the support of heavy artillery, and a week's rain would bring all such operations to a stand. I have said enough to justify our caution in not advancing upon Simpheropol; with regard to the other more specious alternative of transferring a large force to Eupatoria, much of the preceding argument will apply to this also. It surely will not be contended that we should move a large force into the heart of the Crimea for the purpose of moving back again; but this would

there is a line of works facing the north. The works that came under my own view were detached, and covered a great space of ground, requiring a garrison so large as to be an embarrassment in the winter."

have been the certain consequence of such a movement. According to the best estimates of the strength of the allies at the end of the siege, we had 120,000 of all arms; and as 60,000 or 70,000 were required to defend the line of the Tchernaya, some 50,000 might have been transferred to some other point. Such a force might have offered battle to the enemy on the steppes. But if the Russians, instead of repeating their error of the last year at Alma, had decided to remain on the defensive, our army must have retired on the approach of winter, for siege operations, or, indeed, any operations, were out of the question when the bad weather set in; and that reputation which we had established in the public opinion of Europe by our success would have been seriously compromised by such a movement. Prepared as I am to vindicate the decision of the allied generals in regard to any great operation, I cannot but believe that some use might have been made of our cavalry against the supplies of the enemy from Perckop, and it was a matter of surprise to myself and many others that it was not done. Our reputation would not have been compromised by failure, and something ought to have been adventured to increase the difficulties of bringing in the supplies of the large army in the Crimea, while the season admitted of it."

On the subject thus discussed by Sir E. Colebrook, the views of Colonel Hamley were given in the following terms:—"Two movements offered themselves—the one from Eupatoria or along the Bulganak, the other from Kertch. In advancing from Eupatoria, the want of water would always prevent other than a rapid movement, followed, if not at once successful, by as rapid a retreat. At the same time, with our force of cavalry, and with our fleet on the coast, besides Eupatoria itself to fall back on, there could be no great risk in case of an attack by the enemy, while even a very short interruption of the stream of supply to the garrison or army—such as the presence of a strong cavalry force on the road for two days—might have been fatal to the defence of Sebastopol. The advance from the peninsula of Kertch, involving the capture of Kaffa and Arabat, would have been a safer and more sustained operation, and its consequences more destructive to the enemy."

Thus, by civilians and officers competent to pronounce a judgment, and yet desirous to exculpate the allied commanders, it was admitted that before winter set in operations in the field might have been undertaken. The season was far advanced when Sir William Codrington assumed the command, but even then an energetic commander, gifted with genius, would have attempted some bold measure. The army burned for adventure,

and officers and men revolted in their hearts against settling down in another winter's inaction, leaving the enemy undisturbed. Sir William threw a spirit of increased activity into the various departments, without changing the military policy of his predecessor. Thus matters stood when the explosion of the 15th of November caused such excitement in the camp.

About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th, the camps of the allies were startled by an explosion, as if all the magazines in and around Sebastopol had blown up together. Looking from the British camp towards the place whence the report seemed to issue, a huge column of smoke was seen ascending high in the air, which then spread out like a tree, broke, and sent down showers of iron, stones, rubbish, broken side-arms, guns, gun-carriages, and every conceivable appurtenance of war. An eye-witness described the column of smoke and *débris* thrown up into the air as of a dark grey colour, flushed with red, and pitted all over with white puffs of smoke, which marked the explosion of shells. The uproar of bursting shells and rockets, crashing of broken carriages, and bounding balls, resembled that of one of the great bombardments; but all witnesses agreed that the din of this explosion was greater than the loudest thunders of artillery in the siege. Scarcely had the huge column collapsed, when dark masses of black smoke, fretted with flame, gushed forth in many directions, attended by minor, but still loud explosions. The huts and tents caught fire, and a thrill of alarm spread through the camps. The first officer who seems to have hastened to the scene of destruction, was General Windham, who supposed that one of the French redoubts had been blown up by the fire of the enemy. Sir Richard Airey and the British commander-in-chief followed General Windham, and all were guided in their course by the smoke, flames, and duration of the explosions, to the French artillery park, near Inkerman, commonly called Park Mill. It had contained 30,000 kilogrammes of powder, 600,000 cartridges, 300 charged shells, and large quantities of rockets, carcasses, and other projectiles of various sorts. From the locality, the French were of course the first and chief sufferers. Six officers were killed, and thirteen wounded. Of the rank and file sixty-five were killed, and 170 wounded, of whom many afterwards died. The English encamped nearest to that part of the French position, suffered also heavy loss; one officer was killed, and four officers were wounded. Twenty-one rank and file were killed, and 112 wounded. Most of the rank and file killed and wounded were non-commissioned officers. The wounds were not so generally fatal as those inflicted upon

the French. Such was the substance of the official reports, but several men, both French and English, particularly the latter, were missing when the reports were made, and were afterwards discovered wounded.

The danger was much greater than the injury inflicted. The English powder-mill contained 180 tons of explosive *matériel*. The roof, doors, and windows were blown in, and the cases were thus of course exposed. The peril was imminent, and had the mill caught fire the consequence would have been appalling. When the state of the English mill was ascertained, General Straubenzece called out to the men of the 7th Fusiliers to volunteer in an enterprise more hazardous than a forlorn hope; this was to climb the shattered walls of the mill, and cover the combustibles within with wet tarpaulins, while fire and explosion were sweeping all around. Lieutenant Hope and twenty-five men (all that were required) instantly volunteered. At the same time a sergeant and several men of the Rifle Brigade joined them, and a party of the gallant 31th was as prompt as either fusiliers or rifles. While they were engaged in covering the place with blankets and tarpaulins, and throwing water over them, not only sparks and flakes of fire were drifted in all directions, but rockets sped hissing in the air above them. Had any one of these swift and fiery messengers of destruction torn its way through the covering thrown over the mill, the whole contents would have been exploded, and the daring volunteers cast into the air, and scattered in charred fragments afar. The danger of battle is nothing to what Lieutenant Hope and his brave followers incurred. This young officer, the moment he perceived the fire, seized a bugle and sounded the parade, thus preventing panic or confusion among the men of his camp. He was the only son of the lord justice-clerk of Scotland, and a member of the family of Lord Hopetoun, whose conduct in the Peninsula is so well known to the readers of Sir William Napier's history. The escapes in the English camp were extraordinary. Major Strange had just stepped from his hut when two 13-inch shells fell through the roof, of course blowing the whole fabric to pieces: the major was left standing unhurt amidst the wreck. The roof of the canteen was penetrated by a shell; the wife of the keeper had a kettle in her hand, which was struck from it, she escaping uninjured: there were ten other persons within the canteen, and, except with some slight bruises, all escaped unhurt; the structure itself was blown into fragments. The casualties would have been much more numerous than they were, had the men been in camp, but nearly all the soldiers of the brigade quartered nearest to the scene of the catastrophe were

fortunately absent on working-parties, and thus escaped.

The cause of the explosion was variously stated. Some of the French soldiery nearest to the place attributed it to one of their comrades, who sat amusing himself with a Russian 13-inch shell, poking it with his bayonet, and by this means exploded it. Mr. Russell attributed it to the act of a French artilleryman, who, finding a piece of shell in a powder-case he was emptying, flung it to a distance, and the fragment, coming into contact with hard rock, struck fire, ignited the loose powder scattered about, the fire communicating itself rapidly to the cases, and to the magazine. The artilleryman himself, although in the focus of these radiating fires, escaped with slight injury. For four hours the fires continued to burn, and some explosions to take place: during that time the Russians crowded the northern heights and the hills overlooking the Tebernaya, making gesticulations of satisfaction at the havoc they witnessed. Towards seven o'clock, however, the French opened some masked batteries, and created confusion and some slaughter among the spectators, who precipitately fled out of range. Russian batteries, however, soon responded to those of the French. The next morning the divisions on the British right were very early under arms—General Codrington supposing that the enemy, hoping to profit by the confusion, would make an attack; none was offered, and the day passed in repairing the mischief which had been created. The following was the general's despatch, in which tidings of the calamity were communicated to the English war ministry. It was dated November 17th:—

"On the 15th instant, about 3 p.m., a terrific explosion shook the camp of the army, and spread heavy destruction in the immediate neighbourhood of its force; even here, at head-quarters, two and a-half miles, perhaps, distant, it burst open and broke windows; all felt the power of it, and the high column of smoke, with shells bursting in the midst and around it, told too well the cause, and showed the danger of all within its reach.

"It was not long before we were on the spot. To the sudden burst had succeeded a continued and dark drift of smoke, which told its tale of continued fire and of danger; constant bursting of shells was going on, and the ground was covered with bits of wood, musket-balls, and splinters of shells from the first heavy explosion, which had strewed the ground with destruction, and killed and hurt very many people: 100,000 pounds of powder had exploded in the French siege-train, set fire to all the stores there, and to our neighbouring English park, where all was fiercely burning; while

the tendency of the light air at first threatened a second and as serious an accident from powder, not eighty yards off, for the roof of the building had been damaged, and the door blown in by the shock.

"Some general officers had fallen in and marched part of their divisions down, others sent some in fatigue, some with stretchers for the wounded—all exerted themselves with the French with an energy and disregard of danger that was admirable; blankets were taken to the exposed store, placed and wetted on the roof by water being passed up in buckets; the doors were covered with wet blankets and sand-bags, and in a short time it was reported and looked safe, though the closeness of the fire and frequent explosions could not allow the feeling of security. Many detached though small fires were burning, and the ground of both the French and English parks, a space of 150 yards across, was a mass of large fires, some of fuel, some of huts, some of gun-carriages, boxes, handspikes, and ropes. The fortunately light air had rather changed its direction, and by breaking up and dragging away things a sort of lane was at last formed, the flames cut off, and gradually got under control, because confined to smaller though fierce fires, but manageable. I saw every one working well, and I know that French and English took live shells from the neighbourhood of danger to a more distant spot, and at a later period parties threw what earth the rocky soil could give, upon the fires, and helped much to subdue them; all was safe about 7 P.M., and a strong guard and working-party posted for the night.

"The army was under arms the following morning before daylight, and everything being quiet, I ordered the divisions to turn in, and continued the working-parties in the roads, which I had counter-ordered for that morning. The exploded powder store was situated in the ruins of some walls which had advantageously been made use of for the purpose of shelter; it had been the store of supply to the French attack on the Malakoff front, and it contained the powder which had been brought back from their batteries. It is at the head of the ravine, which, as it gets towards Sebastopol, forms the steep and rocky valley of Ravin du Carénage.

"The light division was on the ground which it first took up in October, 1854; the Rifles on the right, then the 7th, the 33rd, and 23rd; on their left the 34th regiment, which subsequently joined, was on the right front in advance; and the vacating of a spot of ground by the sapper's camp enabled me, when commanding the division, to place the artillery and small-arm brigade on the immediate right of the Rifles. The French subsequently

brought their main siege-train and store to the position it has now for some time occupied.

"Daylight showed the damage, of which I have given your lordship an outline in another letter. But the more important and sad part is the loss of life, and the wounded who have suffered. One officer and twenty non-commissioned officers and men killed; four officers and 112 non-commissioned officers and men wounded, with seven missing,* show the sudden and fatal power of the shock, which not only destroyed in its immediate neighbourhood, but wounded, by shells and splinters, some at a distance of three-quarters of a mile. The loss of our allies is distressingly heavy.

"Nominal return of officers killed on the 15th of November:—Royal Artillery—field-train department—Deputy-assistant Commissary G. G. Yellon, by the explosion of magazines in camp (at the French siege-train).

"Nominal return of officers wounded on the 15th of November:—Royal Artillery—Lieutenants F. C. Roberts and W. J. Dawson, dangerously. Field-train department—Deputy-assistant Commissary H. Hodds, severely. Second battalion Rifle Brigade—Lieutenant W. H. Eccles, and Assistant-surgeon J. C. B. Reade, slightly."

During the week which succeeded the Inkerman explosion, nothing of moment occurred. On the 21st, symptoms of a severe winter were indicated; and on the 26th the fair weather broke up, with rain, storm, and sleet, affording some foretaste of what might be expected in another similar war with the climate of the Crimea. Rumours were wafted through the camps that the enemy would maintain his position through the winter at all costs, and that in the spring he would pour in fresh hosts to contend for the mastery of the Crimea. Cannonades were maintained from the Russian side, which did not inflict either much injury or disturbance, but proved the energy and vigilance which the enemy still possessed.

General Codrington exerted himself to secure to the soldiery such comforts as could be enjoyed in a camp; and plans were instituted by which the men might be encouraged to save their pay, and send it home to their families, of which they most extensively availed themselves. On the 4th of December, General Codrington sent home the following despatch, with an inclosure from Dr. Hall concerning the health of the army:—

"The enemy continue to fire occasionally, and sometimes heavily, on parts of the town. They must have expended a considerable quantity of valuable ammunition, without

* "Six artillerymen since accounted for and alive."

causing us any loss or inconvenience. The inclosed casualty return is the first of the sort I have had occasion to report to your lordship.

"It may seem unimportant to refer to the state of roads and weather here, but their condition affects the essential communications and well-being of the army. The winter broke upon us suddenly, on the 26th and 27th, with snow, and has varied with gales and rain; and a very deep state of the ground has damaged all communications. Constant presence of labourers and constant attention are requisite, and are being given to the road, which, from a peculiarity of soil and condition, was worked into holes, but which is, and will continue to be, of the greatest service to the army and its supplies.

"I beg leave also to forward the weekly report of Dr. Hall, the principal medical officer, by which your lordship will perceive that the general state of health of the army continues favourable."

Dr. Hall's report:—

"I am glad to be able to point out a continuance of the favourable state of health of the army. The weather has been boisterous, wet, cold, and changeable, which has occasioned an increase of catarrhal affections, and added some cases of catarrhal ophthalmia to our list; but the admissions under this head have decreased nearly one-half during the present week, and, it is to be hoped, by care and removal of those labouring under the complaint to the Monastery, that the disease will not extend."

On the 10th of December, Dr. Hall's report was more full and circumstantial, and inspired the hope that the army would continue healthy during the winter of 1855-6. The doctor's report entered minutely into the state of divisions, brigades, and regiments, and discussed the probabilities of the health of the army during the severe season into which it had entered. We make such extracts as will enable the reader to contrast the December of 1855 with that of the previous year:—

"The army continues healthy, and there is little variation in the number of admissions, and only one in the number of deaths this week, as compared with that of the preceding one. The weather has been wet and stormy, which has occasioned some little variation in the admissions under the different heads of disease. Dysentery and rheumatism, for instance, have increased; but the following abstract will show how nearly the other classes of disease assimilate to those of the previous week:—

	This week.		Last Week.	
	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted.	Died.
Fevers	131	9	196	19
Pulmonic	177	4	172	2
Diarrhoea	167	6	173	4
Cholera	7	6	9	4
Dysentery	48	2	29	1
Rheumatism	65	0	56	0
Wounds and injuries	45	7	43	4
Ophthalmia	41	0	31	0
Other diseases	319	4	350	3
Total	1093	38	1059	37

"The total number of deaths, though only one more than last week, shows some variety in its distribution; *e. g.*, the mortality under the head of 'fever' has decreased one-half, while that of pulmonic complaints and dysentery has been doubled, and that of diarrhoea and cholera increased one-third."

A correspondent of *Colburn's United Service Magazine* thus happily contrasted the two Decembers:—

"In the first December, nature and man appeared to combine for the purpose of inflicting the direst woe upon our unfortunate soldiers. The elements commenced the work; trench-digging, want of proper clothing and food, finished it. The hospitals were full, and the whole British army in the Crimea dwindled to 12,000 bayonets. The sick men were but poorly cared for, from want of surgeons and medical appliances, and the healthy mocked the term by their appearance. Great was the change our second December brought. The winter season commenced, as such periods do, with coldness, but not the bitter severity of the former year; and the cessation of the siege prevented an undue exposure to its hardships, whilst our brave fellows were so well clad and fed that any labour fell with the greatest lightness upon them. Sickness certainly did occur, but it is a question whether it exceeded the ordinary average at home, and the poor invalids were tended with as much care and were quite as comfortable as if they had been treated in the military hospitals in England. Surgeons were in plenty, in good health themselves, and anxious to make the sick bed as cheerful as possible for the patient, a duty of little difficulty from the large supplies of stores. A liberal distribution of newspapers and books amused the minds of the inmates, while the frequent visits of the clergy showed that their souls were not uncared for. Thirty thousand was probably the lowest amount of duty-men in our army at this time, and the robust health that they were in gave satisfactory proof of the care that had been taken of them, and evinced, at the same time, what reliance might be placed upon them in the hour of need. There could not be a greater proof of the good policy,

* Twenty were transfers from regimental to general hospitals.

and even economy, of thus taking care of the soldiers, than their martial look on parade; whilst the common maxim, 'Tis better to have a long bill from the butcher than the doctor,' exemplifies the case. The liberality with which government clad the troops may be shown by the following list of my servant's wardrobe:—

"COATS.—A tunic, a coatce, a shell jacket, a fur coat, a sandbag coat (a summer coat made of linen, called so, from its appearance, by the men), a great coat, a waterproof coat.

"HEAD-COVERINGS.—A shako, a forage cap, a fur cap.

"TROUSERS.—Two pairs cloth trousers, 1 pair sandbag ditto, 1 pair waterproof leggings.

"BOOTS.—One pair long boots to go outside the trousers, 2 pairs of ankle boots.

"HOSIERY.—Six woollen jerseys, 3 linen shirts, 2 pairs flannel drawers, 2 pairs worsted stockings, 1 cholera belt."

Notwithstanding all the advantages of roads and railroads, warm clothing, abundant provisions, good huts, and experience gained by past sufferings, the month of December very severely tried both men and animals. Many horses and mules perished; and the general feeling among the men was one of gratulation that Southern Sebastopol had fallen, as, from the severity of the weather, and the way it told upon the men, trench-work would have swept many thousands to an untimely grave during the winter, who were spared to see their homes and serve their country.

On the 7th-8th of December, an attempt was made by the enemy to surprise the French near the villages of Baga, Urkesta, and Savatka, in the Baidar Valley. General d'Autemarre's division had a semicircle of outposts formed on the Upper Tchernaya, on the lowest declivities of the wooded heights by which the Tchernaya is separated from the Upper Belbek. The Russians attacked these outposts, in the hope that by capturing them, or driving them in, they might circumscribe the space over which the French collected firewood, and, when the ground was not covered by snow, fodder for their horses. Between 3000 and 4000 men were put in motion to accomplish this surprise. The Cossacks of Colonel Zotteroff led the way, immediately supported by 500 picked marksmen from the line. The main body followed, consisting of about 500 cavalry, and the Smolensk regiment, which comprised three battalions of 800 men each, exclusive of officers. The enemy advanced cautiously and expertly, as they generally did, and succeeded in coming unheard upon an advanced party of twelve men, close by the junction of the Baga and Ourkust roads; these were made prisoners after a desperate resistance. The morning had not dawned when

they stealthily reached those villages, precipitating their chief force upon Baga. Notwithstanding the success of the surprise, the French at Baga rallied with great celerity. The troops stationed there were chiefly light infantry, composed of Chasseurs d'Afrique, Chasseurs-à-pied, and the flank companies of the 26th regiment of the line. Chef de Bataillon Richebourg displayed fortitude, skill, and promptness in the great danger to which he was exposed, and by his able arrangements, and the courage of his soldiers, he soon cleared the village of the enemy, charging them through the little street at the point of the bayonet. While this conflict was proceeding at Baga, Ourkust was attacked, and with some success; the garrison was completely off its guard, when the Russians fell fiercely upon it with savage yells. It was with difficulty that Captain Pechose succeeded in rallying his men; and only by prodigious personal exertion was he able to make their charge upon the enemy effective; he was repeatedly surrounded, but cut his way out, on one occasion slaying three Russians with his sword.

General d'Autemarre soon became apprised of the danger; but before he could make any arrangement to bring up his cavalry, the gallant men assailed had recaptured the villages, and driven the Russians back with severe chastisement. One hundred and fifty slain, wounded, and prisoners, was the penalty paid by the Russians for their temerity. The French reported a loss of two killed and eleven wounded; but a greater number were afterwards found to have sustained injury, and five of the wounded died.

The moral effect of this attempt was, on the whole, in favour of the enemy; for it encouraged his own troops by a show of activity, which the allies had not displayed. An offensive movement by Gortschakoff, after the capture of Sebastopol, was not expected by the Muscovite soldiery, although looked for by the allies, and therefore, even when defeated, the attempt led the Russian soldiery to hope that extensive combinations against the allies were contemplated.

On the 12th of December, the breaking up of the ice at Kimburn and Kertch exposed the shipping to danger, but no very serious results occurred. A desperate skirmish at the latter place, under Major Macdonald, in which Captain Sherwood was killed, showed that the Turkish contingent, against which so much unjust prejudice had been entertained, was worthy of confidence; and that, led by British officers, the Turkish cavalry, as well as Turkish infantry, were superior as soldiers to the Russians—superior in courage, alacrity, individual enterprise, and enthusiasm, as well as in temperance and endurance.

On the 21st, Major-general Sir Richard Dacres, K.C.B., of the Royal Artillery was promoted to the local rank of lieutenant-general "in Turkey;" an honour deservedly obtained, and judiciously conferred, as it gave great satisfaction to the army generally, but more especially to his own arm of the service.

Inaction prevailed on all hands as another Christmas in the Crimea approached, and home-thoughts filled the hearts of officers and men. There is no season of the year that absence from home and its loved ones is felt so much as when the period of Christmas festivities arrives. The images of kindred and friends will come up around the bivouac fire, or in the lonely hut—not indeed to cheer, but to render more desolate the heart, in the conviction that the imagination in vain struggles to restore those who are far, far away. Loneliness in the midst of crowds is one of the most painful states which hearts formed for social joys can know; and at no time is this so much felt as when Christmas calls up the dear remembrances of other days, when those we loved most were nearest to us. Many a brave heart felt lonely and sad in the British army around Sebastopol, in the midst of numbers, and the scenes of martial excitement, when the Christmas of 1855 reminded them of the homes they might never revisit; and the bright faces which were then wearing an ungenial sadness because the soldier—son or brother—was not by the festive board. The most "rollicking" portion of the British army was composed chiefly of natives of "the Sister Isle," and it was observed that these were the most dejected, and talked most pensively of "the family circle," when the wintry winds swept over the bleak plateau of Sebastopol. Mr. Edwin Galt, in his sparkling, pleasant, and clever little work, "The Camp and the Cutter," describes well the scenes and temper of the Crimean camp at that time:—

"How different to the Christmas-day at home in England, with its social, joyous, festive parties, its reunion of families, when this time-hallowed day marks another mile-stone in existence, and seems to be an epoch from whence we remember events, and start again in a new career—Christmas-day, with its merry feastings, the satiety of roast-beef and plum-puddings, its yule-log and misletoe; the time when juvenile ladies and gentlemen are dressed in their best, and each, with youthful ambition, makes a *début*, and tries to create a sensation—Christmas morning, when the kitchen is filled with servants and members of the family, anxiously striving to have one stir in that never-to-be-forgotten pudding—when, if the rain falls in torrents, or the snow is on the ground in returning from church, you rush home to comfort and luxury, and seek a change

of clothing to prepare for the enjoyment of the day.

"How different is Christmas-day in the Crimea!—attending church-service in fur-clothing and high overall boots, standing for one hour a foot deep in snow to listen to the prayers being read, dependent upon your friends at home, or the resources of Balaklava, or the skill and sobriety of a soldier, for your Christmas pudding.

"I turned out at eight; there had been some snow, and a very hard frost at night, but after breakfast the sun broke forth brilliantly, and I walked to church, which was held on the parade ground of the third division. The drums were inverted upon the snow for a reading-desk; six regiments formed a square, the standards of each regiment being held slightly in advance; the clergyman, in thick snow-boots, with his surplice, and his head bared, impressively read the prayers; the soldiers stood round with their heads covered; the service lasted forty-six minutes; there was a great deal of shivering before it was finished, and scarcely had the Prayer-book been closed, when the sharp voice of the commanding officer formed each regiment five deep, and they rapidly moved off the ground in double-quick step, and by ten o'clock they had reached their huts. The hoarse sound of the guns and mortars of the Russians broke in every minute during the service—in sad contrast to the peaceful teachings of our beautiful Liturgy.

"We were engaged to dine at five, at Lieutenant M——'s hut, and it was seven miles to Balaklava. We mounted our horses, and soon got into the great highway. The thought never occurred to us of the extreme difficulty of getting up a genuine Christmas dinner; but if the reader could only have been transferred to that roadside for one short hour, and have observed the numerous equestrians galloping home in their uniforms, bearing upon the backs of their ponies all kinds of *comestibles* to make up their dinner, he would have had a full appreciation of the anxiety displayed to do honour to, and keep up the established and home-hallowed character of the day. Men were rushing wildly by with geese on their ponies, with vegetables, with boxes just arrived from England containing *the* plum-pudding from home—with preserved meat tins, with champagne bottles, and each had something across his saddle necessary to make up the recognised idea out here of a sumptuous entertainment. Nor were the soldiers forgotten, for, as we passed by camp after camp, the cheers of the men resounded through the air. The colonels and officers had shown the greatest desire to see that their regiments fared well on this day, and there was hardly one

mess-table in the Crimea that did not groan beneath plums and dough, mixed together with what culinary science I will not attempt to say."

Such were the efforts to be gay and home-like among our heroes of the camp around Sebastopol; but no one who has read the letters from men of every grade in the service to their friends and families can fail to see that the prevailing state of mind was one of tender, home memories. The author just quoted ends his description of the festive attempts by this sentence:—"The Russian guns kept up their incessant booming, and the missiles that sent death and destruction to so many brave fellows lay scattered about not far distant, for we were encamped at the very entrance to 'the Valley of Death.'"

The year closed without any remarkable event. A French detachment came unexpectedly upon a Cossack post, killing or capturing the Cossacks; this was the only enlivening incident of arms, for the frequent cannonade of the enemy was monotonous, and annoying to the mind as well as to the ear of the soldiers. On the 26th, General Codrington thus addressed the minister of war:—

"Notwithstanding the recent severe weather, the thermometer a few nights ago having fallen nearly to zero, the general state of health of the army has continued good. The roads are in fair working order, and though the efficiency of the locomotive engines was impaired by the frost, the damage has been made good.

"The final operations on the docks have been somewhat delayed on our side by the influx of water, and by the freezing of the pumps.

"The fire from the forts on the northern side of the harbour continues, and it is at times heavy; but the casualties, I am happy to say, are few.

"There has been no movement of importance on the part of the enemy in our neighbourhood of late. A detachment of French troops surprised a Cossack post near Teilion a few days ago, killing several men, and taking the rest prisoners.

"The general drill of the army makes good progress."

On the 27th General Codrington wrote:—

"Your lordship has referred in several despatches to drunkenness in this army. Reports of all sorts seem to have been circulated, statements read, descriptions made, until it was apparently believed that this army was composed of drunkards, and immersed in riot and vice. I took the opportunity of expressing myself strongly to your lordship that this would prove not to be the truth. I now state, in confirmation of this opinion, that returns are in

my possession from every regiment of all cases of drunkenness tried by court-martial, as well as those settled at the regimental orderly rooms, for three months.* It was during this time that arrears of field allowance, more than £2 each man, were received as back pay, besides 10,000 men receiving additional working pay; and yet the result is that, including artillery, sappers, and infantry, the number of crimes of drunkenness (and these are many more than the men drunk) is a little above one man in two days per company, estimated at 100 men. No doubt there are many facilities in all these open and crowded camps for drunken men to get in without being seen. They do so, and escape observation. But suppose we double or treble the amount of these numbers, which are taken from official returns, I suspect the army will bear a comparison with many towns, many villages, many populations of Great Britain. It is easy to give, it is as easy to read, a minute, a ludicrous, or even a filthy description of a drunken man, and it seems seized upon as the type of the whole. The fathers and mothers, and wives and sisters in England, are fully persuaded we do nothing but drink, and the good character of the army is forgotten in a few sketches from nature. That such need not be the case with those who know anything about the matter, will, I think, be proved by the statement now made to your lordship."

On the 31st, Lieutenant-general Vivian sent the following despatch to Lord Panmure, dated Kertch:—

"I have with much regret to report to you the death of Captain R. S. Sherwood, of the cavalry of this force. This officer was engaged in a skirmish that took place on the 16th inst. between a detachment of our cavalry and a party of Russian cavalry; his gallantry in this affair was most conspicuous, as is reported to me by the officer who commanded the detachment. Captain Sherwood was severely wounded, and was carried off by the Russians, and, as I have since learnt, died on the 19th from his wounds. I deplore his loss, for he was an intelligent and very promising young officer. I have reason to believe that the treatment he received from the Russians was most humane and considerate."

The last official paper for the year 1855, from the seat of war, was from Dr. Hall; it is an interesting paper, giving the reader an insight into both the physical and moral condition of the army to some extent. It appeared from this report that drunkenness was more common and mischievous in the British army than General Codrington's despatch would lead its readers to believe. Mr. Russell's letters had complained of this besotment of the Eng-

* For September, October, and November.

lish soldier, and General Codrington was more zealous than discreet when the correspondents of the London press were concerned. He was therefore hasty to confute such representations as Mr. Russell had made, and did not take sufficient care to ascertain the correctness of his data. Dr. Hall's report of the health of the army at the termination of 1855 was thus written:—

"I have the honour to report the weekly state of sick to the 29th instant. The health of the army continues very satisfactory; there is an absence of serious disease, and although the admissions under the heads 'chest affections' and 'frostbite' are numerous, it is satisfactory to know that the former are, for the most part, merely simple catarrhs, and the latter slight vesications of the fingers, toes, and tips of the ears. The few serious cases there are were all occasioned by exposure when drunk.

"The Land Transport Corps does not enjoy the same health that the troops do, and more than one-half of the deaths which have occurred during the week have taken place in that corps alone. Under the head of fever, one-third of the admissions and two-thirds of the deaths were in the Land Transport Corps—that is, sixty-five out of 182 admissions, and eleven deaths out of fifteen, leaving only four for the whole army, which is as great an exemption from serious febrile disease as can well be expected.

"The diminution of bowel complaints in the army is equally remarkable; and here again three out of the seven deaths which occurred took place in the Land Transport Corps. It is difficult to account for this disparity of health between the corps and the military, as they are as well fed and clothed as the soldiers, and of late they have certainly not been overworked. Numbers of men have recently joined the corps; and as they get better organised, matters will doubtless improve. Nearly one-half of the force is composed of natives, not of the Crimea, but of Asia Minor and other places, and they bear the winter ill. The following abstract shows the admissions and deaths during the week, and those during the previous week:—

	This week.		Previous week.	
	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted.	Died.
Fevers	182 ..	15 ..	173 ..	16 ..
Head affections ..	9 ..	2 ..	2 ..	2 ..
Chest ditto	279 ..	0 ..	221 ..	1 ..
Diarrhoea	117 ..	3 ..	204 ..	4 ..
Cholera	3 ..	3 ..	12 ..	7 ..
Dysentery	8 ..	1 ..	40 ..	0 ..
Rheumatism	44 ..	2 ..	53 ..	1 ..
Frost bites	98 ..	0 ..	269 ..	1 ..
Wounds and injuries	72 ..	4 ..	48 ..	6 ..
Ophthalmia	37 ..	0 ..	22 ..	0 ..
Other diseases ..	425 ..	6 ..	371 ..	2 ..
Total	1274	35	1423	40

Having arrived in our narrative at the close of the year, opportunity may be taken to notice an alleged error in our account of the conflict in the trenches on the 22nd of March. Our readers will remember that we animadverted upon the liability of English troops to be attacked by the enemy in unguarded moments, and to be imposed upon by some *ruse* that was transparent. On that occasion all the accounts to which we had access described the Russians as obtaining an entrance to the English trenches by pretending they were French, and uttering the clumsy phrase *bono Francez* to effect the imposition. It will be remembered that the 34th regiment distinguished itself on that occasion by extraordinary gallantry—a gallantry not surpassed throughout the war. An officer of that intrepid corps, present on the occasion, wrote assuring us that the Russian phrase above quoted did not impose upon the men, who repelled the attack as promptly as its suddenness allowed, regardless of the *ruse* attempted, or the awkward means by which it was supported. The following letter to the author, from the same officer, will throw additional light upon the events of that night:—

"DEAR SIR,—I perfectly understand the difficulty you must have had, to give anything like a correct account of what occurred in the trenches on the 22nd of March, 1855, as, although present, and within only a few hundred yards off when the first attacks were made, yet, in consequence of the darkness and wind, I am totally unable to give any correct account of it; and it is only the attack led by the Albanian, as I stated in my last letter, that I can answer for. This attack was about twelve o'clock, and the last the Russians made. Immediately that Colonel Tylden, R.E., perceived that the Russians had succeeded in entering the trenches, he collected the working-parties of the 7th and 34th, and, in company with Captain Brown, proceeded to the Mortar Battery, and drove the Russians before them, till they made a stand for some minutes at the first traverse, and here it was that Captain Brown was shot by the Albanian, and fell to the rear; but then thinking that the men were being driven back by the Russians, in spite of being severely wounded, he again rushed to the front, and led on the men, and fell mortally wounded, with no less than five bayonet wounds, and the men then regularly pitched the Russians over the parapet with their bayonets, and which concluded the fighting of that night. With regard to my last letter, concerning the sentinels having been taken in by the Russians answering '*Bono Francez*,' and their want of vigilance and soldierly alertness, you are quite at liberty to make what use you

please of it; but I should of course much prefer that my name should not appear in print."

It is suitable at the period of the struggle to which our narrative has now brought us, to offer a brief general review of events up to this period, especially as at the close of the year those negotiations for peace were opened, which resulted in a treaty a few months later. It cannot but be admitted that throughout the year and throughout the war, so far Russia had put forth prodigious exertions; but instead of this exciting surprise, the like ought to have been expected, from the long preparation which she had been making for such a war. It is not, however, generally known that, but for the peculation of her people and officials, the Russian resources for the war would have been much greater, and more easily made available. The Russian system of commissariat and of public works is such, that in garrisons, fortresses, or campaigns, the power of the empire is abridged, and the resources wasted. All public works, civil and military, proceed in a constant struggle of speculators and robbers. We believe that the chief cause of the emperor being anxious to terminate the conflict was, the cost it imposed upon every state department. No Englishman who has not been in Russia could form an idea of the robbery and extortion, in every form, by which public works, contracts, and engineering of all kinds are beset. This, of course, dries up the sinews of war in times of peace, and impedes the progress of every work bearing upon war in time of actual conflict. We may observe, *en passant*, that this fact should deter Englishmen from investing their money in enterprises upon Russian soil, which are ostensibly industrial, and to abstain from loans, purchase of stock, contracts, civil or military, in Russia.

The Russian government has found it necessary to guard itself against the speculations of its engineers, and the contractors employed to carry out engineering and architectural works, by every means that the fullest consideration could suggest. The most important step to effect this has been the adoption of a form of regulations, called in Russian, *ouruchnaya polozhenie* (meaning task-table), of quantities of materials and men required to perform any given quantity of work, in masonry, carpentry, painting, glazing, lime-burning, brick-making, stone-quarrying, earth-work, turf-cutting, and conveying materials, by carts, barrows, or on men's backs. In consequence of the existence of this work, the most conscientious person is deprived of the power (however much he may wish to serve the government) of reducing the high estimates that are generally made for all government works required to be constructed; and even where, by the consent of people in

authority, an opportunity has been afforded of making estimates, without keeping to the task-table, the object in view has been completely thwarted in another way; for while the quantities are decided by the infallible task-table, the prices are fixed by the local civil authorities, consisting of a mayor and corporation, several of whom are appointed valuers on oath, with the understanding that if they fix the price lower than the articles can be obtained when required, they are bound to procure them themselves at the price named. Nothing can be more useless than a regulation of this kind, as it affords them an opportunity of obliging favourites by naming prices unusually high, and has no control over them, supposing they should ever happen to fix a price too low, as they have been known to reply, when questioned concerning their valuations, that their prices refer to the day of their valuation. Most estimates are generally doubled by such a system of valuation, and contractors, having this in view, frequently take government works at less than half the value estimated. At other times, one contractor buys off all the rest, and gets the building at a trifle under the estimate, by which he would make cent. per cent., if it were not for the sums he has to pay to other contractors, and the bribes to the authorities; so that the government loses by such a transaction an amount equivalent to the real cost of the building. When needy contractors cannot get a contract at a remunerative price, they frequently throw out the respectable bidders by taking it at a losing price. In doing this they depend upon some alteration being made in the project during the progress of the work, in which case they make no objection at the time, but sue the authorities afterwards, when, with a little judicious bribery, they succeed in getting sufficient overcharge to remunerate them in every way. By such means, men that have been considered bankrupts for years, continue to take contracts, and at length, by some fortunate undertaking, emerge from their state of bankruptcy. To the officer appointed to superintend the construction of works by government means, the task-table is handed; for in sending in his monthly accounts, he must be guided by it. To do this he notices how much of the building has been executed; he then shows, as expended, the exact amount required by the table,* without any regard to the quantities really used. As the task-table always allows of a superfluity, this becomes the perquisite of the district officer, except, as is frequently the case, all the members of a community of engineers agree to divide the spoil, when the surplus gain is put into the (*obschie krooshka*) cup of the community.

Such is a true picture of the obstructions

which the corruption of the Russian people offer to the efficiency of all industrial undertakings, for peace or war, and which must properly enter into our calculations when opposed to that power.

Reviewing our own progress, success had comparatively attended our arms; but our successes had not been unattended with faults, and some disasters. The Russians, expelled from the Danubian provinces in 1854, had been invaded in turn; but as a set-off they were still invaders upon another province of Turkish territory in Asia. For every mile of Russian ground held by the allies, the Russians held a mile of Turkish territory as a counterpoise. The most prominent field of conflict had been the Crimea. There the armies of the czar had severely suffered; whatever cold, or hunger, or fatigue, was experienced by our soldiers, the enemy suffered the like with terrible aggravation: the loss in men to the Russians in the Crimea had been three to every one lost by the allies. Southern Sebastopol had fallen; Kertch and Kinburn had suffered the same fate. At Eupatoria the allies threatened the Russian army of the Crimea in flank, and were in a good strategical position, whence to march upon Simpheropol, and ultimately upon Perekop, might be practicable. The Liman of the Dniester was in the hands of the allies, and all the salient points upon the Sea of Azoff. The great Russian Black Sea fleet was no more. The loss of material to the enemy was enormous. At Odessa, property, private and public, suffered to a vast extent under the bombardment; in the Euxine and Sea of Azoff havoc had been made of nearly the whole Russian commercial marine; at Sebastopol, cannon, powder, military stores, docks, and public buildings had been consigned to ruin; along the whole of the coasts of the Sea of Azoff, great stores of grain had been destroyed, barracks, boats, granaries, buildings, and private buildings, had been subjected to bombardment and fire. There is no estimating the Russian losses as to material—they were overwhelming. Still the czar had not lost the Crimea. Northern Sebastopol was stronger than Southern Sebastopol had been; the M'Kenzie Heights were fortified most skillfully, the grand Russian intrenched camp was formed by prodigious labour, and with thorough military skill; Perekop was a mass of fortifications; the Spit of Arabat was but partially commanded by the allies; the allied troops at Kertch were literally hemmed in by a superior Russian force. Notwithstanding the destruction of provisions and *matériel* of war, the Russian camps and strongholds in the Crimea and neighbourhood were provided with supplies. Nicolaïeff had been fortified, and still fortifications were added, so as to make it a

second Sebastopol. An embryo navy was in its docks, from which, in a very short time, a naval squadron could issue forth, if the war were over, far superior to anything Turkey and Egypt could send into the Euxine for a quarter of a century to come. Odessa, the grand depot of Russian supplies, was allowed to stand, and to feed from its vast stores the army of the czar. In Asia Minor, Omar Pasha, at the head of an ill-clad and starving army, was in winter-quarters on the coast, which he might as well have never left. The Russian general, Mouravieff, although he had not conquered Turkish Armenia, the protracted resistance of Kars having impeded his progress, yet that city, with its noble garrison, had submitted, Lord Stratford having, to use his own favourite cant phrase, "left them to Providence." The wild tribes of Asia Minor were awed by these successes, although the battle of Kars had humbled Russia throughout the East. Persia once more truckled to the czar; the ambassador of the shah was a popular man at St. Petersburg. In the Baltic the fall of Bomarsund and the bombardment of Sweaborg had seriously stricken Russia; but the latter, with much show of reason, she claimed as a victory. The British Admiralty had proved itself unfit to organise a fleet; gross ignorance prevailed at its board. The alliance of the Scandinavian states checked the power of Russia; but she almost preserved unscathed her Baltic fleet. It could not be lost sight of that peace was not probable, until, at least, another campaign altered the aspect of affairs. As to its future character, it was not likely to be (at all events, in the usual sense of the term) a naval war. Ships and gun-boats must be employed (the latter had already performed good service at Odessa, Kinburn, Kertch, and Sweaborg), and should the war continue, the summer of 1856 would necessarily witness the severest contests ever carried on by ships against stone; but still the war never could become naval: no fleets would meet in the grand array of maritime conflict, as in the days of St. Vincent and Nelson. It would be a war of armies, in which the rifle and cannon would play the most conspicuous part. Whatever glory was won by the English name during 1855, as to generalship and the genius of her chief commanders for war, was achieved amidst treachery and starvation by William Fenwick Williams at Kars. Everywhere that British soldiers fought they did all that soldiers could do, and were surpassed by their officers in the competition of desperate valour, and in many instances British general regimental officers distinguished themselves by skill as well as daring; but among the chief commanders one only gained an illustrious reputation—the "hero of Kars." Thus closed the struggle of arms for the year 1855.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

HOME EVENTS BEARING UPON THE WAR DURING THE CONCLUDING MONTHS OF 1855—
INITIATION OF A NEW COALITION BY DISRAELI.—RECEPTION OF THE IMPERIAL GUARDS,
AND OTHER TROOPS, ON THEIR RETURN TO FRANCE FROM THE CRIMEA.—VISITS OF THE
KING OF SARDINIA TO NAPOLEON III. AND QUEEN VICTORIA.

"Without party we can have no liberty; without liberty, life is not worth possessing."

SIR WILLIAM FENWICK WILLIAMS, BART., OF KARS.

AFTER the autumnal prorogation of parliament, and more especially after her majesty's return from France, party politics ran high in England. The indications afforded by the Tory leader in the Commons of a desire to coalesce with the Peelites and the Manchester school (a coalition which was ultimately accomplished *for the purposes of opposition* after the war terminated*) gave great offence to the country, was received coldly by the Conservative party, and opposed by some of its most prominent men. The conduct of the Tory leader of opposition was warmly denounced, even by men who had no favour for Lord Palmerston's government. It was not a time in which the truth of public men was very conspicuous, either in Britain or abroad; but no politician had a greater contempt for it than Mr. Disraeli. He never went out of his way to sacrifice it, as Sir James Graham did, who often prefers its opposite, where veracity would have served him as well. He never set up an ingenious and jesuitical prevarication, nor pleaded for "non-natural" acceptations and meanings, of doctrines and terms, like the member for the Oxford University. Mr. Gladstone was sincerely jesuitical, his metaphysical and logical subtleties mystified his own mind. He believed that truth was only to be got at by a roundabout, such as Mr. Newman or Dr. Pusey used to adopt in interpreting the thirty-nine articles. It was this solemn sincerity, together with a much superior knowledge of economics, which gave Mr. Gladstone the victory in the great prize-ring of the House of Commons, when the financial plans of Mr. Disraeli had on a former occasion been subjected to the criticism of his rival. Disraeli would not take the trouble to profess a metaphysical hypocrisy, or humbug himself into the belief of any creed, religious or political, or any dogma or doctrines whatsoever. We don't think he would alter a despatch, or open letters, or betray refugees to foreign courts, simply because such things would be ungentlemanly; that sort of work was only fit for such men as Sir J. Graham. We do not think even that Mr. Disraeli would follow the example of Earl Grey, in denying the receipt of despatches which

were actually in his possession, and the contents of which he knew. He would prefer an ingenious evasion of their consequences, or making them a pretext for attack upon those who fancied them a good ground for attacking him. He is too bold a man to practice such dishonest shifts as Lord Grey or Sir James resorted to. So entire is his contempt for principle, that he would in no form render it the homage which vice is said always to render to virtue. It is not in his opinion worth while to cover the abandonment of a principle with a plausible pretext. He abandoned or adopted what others called principles, as matters of policy, and vehemently dashed the *tu quoque* in any one's face who impugned his conduct. His mode of procedure resembled that of a statesman to whom he had no other resemblance whatever—Lord John Russell. Lord John, for instance, turned out the Peel ministry on "the appropriation clause," declaring it necessary to the peace and good government of Ireland; and then, in office, carried Sir Robert's own measures without the clause which he had so recently declared to be essential. Lord John stirred up all England on the ground of the assumption of ecclesiastical titles by the pope's bishops, and when he secured a political turn by it, he quietly connived at the undisturbed use of these dignified designations. He declared the war with Russia to be just, on the ground that Turkey could only be safe by the annihilation of Russian power in the Black Sea; he then went to Vienna, and negotiated peace on the principle of compromising what before he had affirmed to be a *sine qua non*: coming back again, he denounced the possession, by Russia, of what he had himself been covertly endeavouring to secure her! This is just the game Disraeli used to play at, without any of the pompous moral assumption of the Viennese negotiator. Accordingly we find the tutelary leader of the Commons at his old tricks of setting aside, with unblushing effrontery, everything and anything he had said before, for a present political object. He had denounced coalitions, as in their own nature corrupt and impolitic; the Derbyite organs, the *Standard* and *Herald* (no doubt sincerely as well as ably) upheld him in such a course; yet the eloquent tergiversator afterwards coquetted for a couple of months with the Gladstonites for a new coalition! There were few more eloquent

* The history of this transaction, and the series of events which led to it, may be seen by the reader in the continuation of Hume and Smollett's *History of England*, by the author of this work.

invectives uttered against the mode in which the Aberdeennites carried on the war than those of Disraeli. With the exception of those of Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Derby, there were no more powerful declamations against any compromise of the ostensible objects of this war than those of the great "British Caucasian;" yet he afterwards strained every nerve to secure the relics of the Aberdeen government in co-operation with him in a grand parliamentary move to put out Lord Palmerston, on the ground that his ministry was too warlike! That any one could be found impudent enough to take up such a course, in a country where some decent deference to principle is demanded, is wonderful: but "Coningsby cares for none of these things." Palmerston was in, and he was out; and Palmerston was likely to stay in, as the ablest exponent of the war-feeling and opinion of the country. There was no chance of the opposition leader becoming leader of the right-hand benches, unless upon this war policy Palmerston was beaten. To attack the sagacious viscount on the ground of his incompetency would have been hopeless; the peace principle must, therefore, become the Disraeli hobby for the next session, if the Manchester school and the dregs of the Peelites could be collected around him. To obtain power, *per fas et nefas*, was the object of the ambitious and unprincipled leader of his party. Happily, they would not follow. Sir Bulwer Lytton sounded the alarm; he would not place himself on a moral level with this new exemplar of the notable line—

"And to party give up what was meant for mankind."

After the statesman-like, eloquent orations of Lord Derby, in favour of a vigorous prosecution of the war, on the very principles and in the mode in which Lord Palmerston conducted it, he could hardly, it was believed, so blot his escutcheon, as to sanction this last profligate move of the great political harlequin of "the house." The party refused to follow such leading, and be thus dishonoured; but Disraeli did not give up the game, he only deferred it until a more promising opportunity.

However varied and important the incidents of French and English history during the autumn of 1855, they did not bear so directly upon the war as to make a relation of them suitable to these pages. November and December witnessed, in both countries, events which had a direct and ostensible connection with the struggle. On the 1st of November the French emperor put forth a decree, conferring, or confirming, the promotion of fifty-seven non-commissioned officers of the army of the East to the rank of commissioned officers. One thousand two hundred and eighty-four special medals were sent for distribution

to the Crimea, and 572 of the heroes of France were exalted to the rank of knights of the Legion of Honour. The decree gave great satisfaction to the people, whose military pride, devotion, and genius it flattered. This measure was followed by another which was satisfactory to the army, and which the large number of troops at the disposal of the emperor enabled him to effect—an exchange of regiments, relieving a certain number of those on duty in the Crimea, and enabling those at home to display their ardour for the public service. The Imperial Guard, and certain other portions of the army were, according to this arrangement, ordered home. Great preparations were made in France, especially in Paris, to give them a triumphal welcome. Before that opportunity was afforded, another event exciting to the popular feeling of France occurred—a visit from the King of Sardinia to the emperor.

The visit of Victor Emanuel was well known to be in the interests of the alliance, but at the same time prompted by the aspect which affairs began to take between the allies and Russia, through the officiousness of Austria. The Sardinian court perceived that Austria was desirous of bringing on a peace that she might herself take advantage of "the situation," and therefore determined to cement the alliance between the court of Savoy and the courts of France and England; or at all events to sound their intentions towards Sardinia, as her interests might be affected by a closer alliance of the Western powers with Austria. It was hoped also by the Sardinian cabinet that such a demonstration of good-will would be made by the French and English people, particularly the latter, as would give a decided tone to the friendship professed by their governments for the only free Italian state. The policy of this movement was attributed to Count Cavour, but by whomsoever originated it was wise, and crowned by complete success. The *Piémonte*, a Sardinian journal reputed to be semi-official (at least, so the Vienna press represented it), declared that the visit of Victor Emanuel was not to form any new treaty, nor for any real or ostensible political business, but nevertheless it had a political signification, and was intended at once as a demonstration of the policy of Sardinia, and as a means of evoking the feeling of the Western governments and peoples. Perhaps ambition had some part in the breast of the royal tourist upon this occasion, for the *Piémonte* ended an article on the subject of his journey by the significant declaration:—"Italy and her future destinies will be solemnly honoured in his person, in the face of all Europe."

On the 20th of November his Sardinian majesty left Turin for Genoa. His departure

was regarded with deep interest by the citizens of the metropolis, who offered to his majesty every token of respect which might be expected from their well-known good taste, loyalty, and patriotism. At Genoa, the debarkation of the sovereign was regarded with deep interest by all classes, and by foreigners, who, in so large a proportion, reside in that far-famed city. Prayers and blessings followed the sovereign, and he had reason to be proud of the devotion of his people. He set sail in the *Carlo Alberto* frigate, and on the 22nd arrived in the port of Marseilles. The frigate and the forts exchanged salutes, which circumstance gave the signal for the people and officials of Marseilles to throng forth to honour the royal guest. He landed, dressed in the uniform of the royal regiment of Sardinian Hussars: the prefect and the general commanding the garrison received him with the formalities usual on such occasions; the people with respect and enthusiasm. The crowd remained uncovered while the staff passed along the lines, and loud *vivas* greeted his approach; the ships in the harbour were covered with flags, and many also floated from the windows of the principal streets of the city. Notwithstanding the satisfaction which so hospitable a reception must have afforded his majesty, that of his own subjects resident in Marseilles, where they were numerous, must have been much more so. They thronged around his carriage, and offered the warmest tributes of devoted loyalty which the occasion permitted. His majesty left the same day for Paris, visiting Lyons *en route*, where his reception was equally agreeable to him and to his nation. On the 23rd he arrived in Paris. At the station of the Lyons railway, he passed under a gay profusion of Sardinian, French, British, and Turkish flags, arranged with that artistic faculty which in so high a degree characterises our Parisian neighbours. The decorations of the waiting-room and its approaches were truly elegant, especially a canopy of crimson velvet, fringed with gold, over the door of the waiting-room. The Imperial Guards and the Cent Guards (the latter a cavalry escort employed on all state occasions), and seven of the imperial carriages, were ready to conduct his majesty and suite to the Palace of the Tuileries. As soon as his majesty alighted at the railway terminus, Prince Napoleon received him, while the band of the Guides played the "*Marche de Savoie*." As the *cortège* proceeded to the Tuileries, the eagerness of the multitudes to get a glimpse at his majesty was manifested, and acclamations hearty and continuous resounded along the line of his progress. At the foot of the grand staircase of the palace he was received by the emperor, and, at the top of the staircase, the empress and her suite awaited him. Apart-

ments had been prepared for him at the Pavillon Marsan, whither he retired after his reception. The king remained six days in Paris, where festivities and entertainments of various descriptions, in the elegant and hospitable style always maintained by Frenchmen, did him honour. On the evening of the 29th of November, he left for London.

Before noticing his reception in England, the reader's attention will be directed to the only notable incident bearing upon the war, at all events unconnected with diplomacy, which occurred during the remainder of the year, and which closed it with a peculiar fitness. The 29th of December was appointed for the public entry into Paris of the Imperial Guards, and the other troops recently arrived from the Crimea. Perhaps on no occasion—not even that of the visit of Queen Victoria—had Paris witnessed such vast multitudes in her streets during the generation then living. The efforts of the inhabitants were put forth with spontaneity and taste to grace the line of the procession. Flags waved, and drapery floated from balconies and arches, and the windows were filled with the beauty, fashion, and gaiety of Paris. Two triumphal arches were erected by the order of government, one on the Place de la Bastille, and the other near the Porte St. Martin. On the frieze of the former were inscribed, "*A la gloire de l'Armée de l'Orient!*" A shield, surrounded with military insignia, bore, in gilt letters, the word "Sebastopol;" the imperial arms, beneath a canopy of standards, surmounted this arch. The sides were decorated with large, gilt, spread eagles. Two gilt statues, intended to represent Victory, holding in their hands crowns of laurel, were placed by the façades of the monument. The names of the different *corps d'armée* appeared upon the frieze. A bas-relief adorned the arch, which was intended to emblemize the Genius of France, and the Muse of History. Battles gained over the Russians were recorded on the sides. In front of these decorations, four poles of great elevation were placed, and from their tops oriflammes floated.

At half-past eleven o'clock the emperor left the Tuileries, accompanied by the Prince Napoleon, Marshals Vaillant, Baraguay d'Hilliers, and General Canrobert. A brilliant staff attended his majesty. The troops who were to make their triumphal entry were marched to the Place de la Bastille, where they were met by the emperor and his suite. The appearance presented by the heroes of the Crimea was such as could not fail to excite emotion among any people; and the French have a taste too military, and a sensibility for military glory too acute, not to have been deeply impressed with the aspect of those weather-beaten and war-stained soldiers. The uniforms of the

men were faded, their flags in tatters, the eagles perforated or broken; the visages of officers and men bore scars, some were maimed, and all betrayed, by their bearing and bronzed countenances, that they had incurred the privations, toils, and dangers of the camp, the bivouac, the siege, and the battle. The excitement of the people was boundless when the emperor, mounted on a beautiful bay charger, rode along the lines, and placed himself at the head of his scarred but unconquered heroes. His majesty stood by the statue of July, 1830, and there addressed the troops in a clear, distinct voice, the modulations of which were skilfully adapted to the situation and the audience. The capacity of pitching his voice properly in a very large assembly had been strikingly shown by the emperor on the 15th of November, when delivering his speech at the close of the great Paris Exhibition, but, in the present instance, he proved himself still more signally to be the possessor of this power. The following was his address to the troops:—

"SOLDIERS,—I have come to meet you as in other times the Roman Senate went to the gates of Rome to meet her victorious legions. I have come to tell you that you have deserved well of your country.

"My emotion is great: for with the happiness I feel at again seeing you are mingled painful regrets for those who are no more, and deep sorrow that I could not myself lead you on to battle.

"Soldiers of the Guard, and soldiers of the Line, I bid you welcome.

"You all represent that army of the East whose courage and whose perseverance have invested with new lustre our eagles, and won for France the rank which is her due.

"The country, alive to all that is accomplished in the East, receives you with all the greater pride, that she estimates your efforts by the obstinate resistance of the enemy.

"I have recalled you, though the war be not terminated, because it is only just to relieve, in their turn, the regiments that have suffered most. Each will thus be able to take his share in glory; and the country, which maintains 600,000 soldiers, has an interest in maintaining in France a numerous and experienced army ready to march wheresoever necessity may require. Preserve, then, carefully the habits of war, and fortify yourselves in the experience you have already acquired. Hold yourselves in readiness to respond, if need be, to my appeal; but yet, on this day, forget the hardships of a soldier's life, return thanks to God for having spared you, and march proudly in the midst of your brethren

in arms and your fellow-citizens whose acclamations await you."

The speech of the emperor was received by the troops with acclamations. His majesty then proceeded to the Place Vendôme, where the veterans were to defile. Thither they followed in heavy marching order; the wounded were in undress uniform, and marched immediately after the bands of the corps to which they belonged. It was a spectacle to command sympathy; and "fair women and brave men," from every window, balcony, and platform, waved kerchief or hat as these pale and stricken companies advanced. Marshal Magnan was in command of the returned troops. General Mellinet was an object of especial notice, as he bore upon his countenance a deep scar, which the public knew he had received on the ever-memorable 8th of September. Brigadier-general Cler, who fought so well at the battle of the Tchernaya and in many other encounters, was also an object of much interest. General Canrobert rode at the head of the division, and was received with vociferous *vivas* by the multitude. At two o'clock the defile was over, the empress re-entered her carriage, and, the emperor riding by its side, they returned to the Tuileries, the crowd making the air ring with cries of "*Vive l'empereur!*" "*Vive l'impératrice!*" In the evening the boulevards and public buildings were brilliantly illuminated, and the streets were filled with exulting multitudes. The eagerness of all classes to bestow some kindness on the soldiers was very great.

An incident occurred during the procession which was very characteristic of French taste and feeling; the populace afterwards talked of it with great gusto. A little drummer boy, who had beaten his drum in several of the Crimean actions, although only ten or eleven years of age, advanced to the emperor, and presented him with a bouquet of violets; his majesty desired the little fellow to take it to the empress. Thither he was conducted; her majesty received the present, and caressed the child, who was so excited by the honour conferred upon him, that he could not for some time cease to exclaim, "*Her majesty embraced me!*" Thus terminated one of those military pageants in which France, elated with her glory, so much delights.

The King of Sardinia left Paris for England, *via* Calais, on the 29th of November. His reception at Calais was warm, and his stay short. The British steamer *Nivid*, and the yachts *Firefly* and *Osborne*, awaited him. His majesty, accompanied by Count Cavour, and attended by the following suite, went on board, and set sail for England:—The Duke Pasqua, prefect of the palace; Baron Nigra,

superintendent of the king's household; Major-general Count Morozzo de la Rocca, first aide-de-camp of the king; Major-general Marquis d'Angrogna, aide-de-camp of the king; Major-general Chevalier Carderina, aide-de-camp of the king; Count Cigala, colonel of cavalry; the Chevalier Persano, captain of the navy, commander of the port of Genoa; Count de Robillant, captain of artillery, officer of ordnance of the king; Count Valperga Barone, officer of ordnance of the king; and Professor Riberi, first physician of the king. At half-past seven o'clock on the morning of the 30th the little squadron reached Dover; the *Blenheim* (a line-of-battle ship) fired a royal salute, and the Drop Redoubt, on the heights, discharged a salvo of artillery. The troops, consisting of the Lincolnshire Militia and the Swiss Legion, were drawn out as a guard of honour for his majesty. General Grey, Lord Byron, Lord Chelsea, Mr. Rice, M.P. for Dover, the naval and military authorities, the mayor and chief citizens, were in attendance, with the Sardinian minister and his secretary, Baron Marochetti (better known by his eminence in sculpture). His majesty proceeded to the Ship Hotel, where the mayor and corporation waited upon him. Mr. Bodkin, the recorder, presented him with an address. The reply of his majesty was delivered through the Sardinian minister. As the first public words addressed by the king to the English people, they are worthy of record:—

“GENTLEMEN,—You are the first who have offered to me, on landing on the hospitable soil of England, words of congratulation and of welcome. Those words are more highly appreciated by me on that account; and I am most happy to receive through you the first marks of sympathy at the moment I am realising a wish long entertained by me of visiting the sovereign of this great country. The expressions you have adopted in pronouncing a eulogium on the Sardinian army in the Crimea are most grateful to my ears, and I am sure the approbation of the countrymen of those who combated so well at Alma and Inkerman will be highly valued by our soldiers. I accept the expression of your good wishes as a happy omen of my journey, and I beg that you will convey to your fellow-citizens, whom you represent, my most sincere sentiments of gratitude.”

At ten o'clock his majesty left for London, and reached the Bricklayers' Arms station soon after twelve o'clock, where Prince Albert and an escort of cavalry awaited him. The Lord Mayor of London and the sheriffs, with many military officers of distinction, were presented to his majesty at the station. The

royal carriages conducted the party to the railway station at Paddington. The morning was piercingly cold, and the carriage in which his majesty was seated was an open one, yet the king persisted for some time in sitting uncovered, but the prince succeeded in inducing him to put on his hat, and to wrap himself in a warm fur coat; he looked pale, and traces of both sickness and care were on his countenance. His reception by the people must have been gratifying to him in the extreme, for it could not have been more cordial. The day was as clear as cold; and all the profusion of decoration to be seen in western London on occasions of public pageant, met the eye of the visitors. The journey by railway from Paddington to Windsor was rapidly performed. The queen received her royal guest at the grand entrance of the castle. In the afternoon he accompanied her majesty on a visit to her royal mother's residence at Frogmore. At half-past four the Lord Mayor and sheriffs of London arrived at the castle to pay their respects, and invite his majesty to visit the city. A grand dinner-party in St. George's Hall closed the occupations of the day. On the following day the king visited Woolwich, inspected the Arsenal and Dockyard, and reviewed the artillery on the common. The next day being Sunday, his majesty and suite attended worship in the Sardinian Chapel, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Cardinal Wiseman received him there. On Monday the king went to Portsmouth to inspect the dockyard and the fleet at Spithead. Six hundred marines, who had only arrived from the Crimea two days before, were drawn up to honour the royal suite. These bearded war-worn veterans attracted the king's notice greatly, who seemed to gaze on them with most profound interest. The naval display also deeply impressed him, so large a fleet having never before been seen by his majesty. One incident more than any other afforded pleasure to all present, British and Sardinians. A visit was paid to the new screw steamship *Repulse*, 91 guns, which much pleased his majesty. Prince Albert gracefully told the first lord of the Admiralty, as they retired, that it was his majesty's pleasure that the ship should henceforth bear the name of *Victor Emmanuel II.* Vice-admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, the mayor of Portsmouth, on behalf of the corporation, presented to the king an address, and received a gracious reply. During his majesty's stay in England most of the principal cities sent deputations and addresses.

On the 4th of December he left Windsor, and arrived early at Buckingham Palace, where various addresses were presented to him by civil and ecclesiastical bodies. Among these some were of a very peculiar character. That from the Protestant dissenting deputies of “the

three denominations"—Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist—in and around London was very striking, and the reply of his majesty by his ambassador still more so.

Address of the Protestant dissenting ministers to the King of Sardinia.

"To His Majesty Victor Emanuel II.,
King of Sardinia.

"May it please your majesty,—The general body of Protestant dissenting ministers of the three denominations (Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist), residing in and around the cities of London and Westminster,—a body from its earliest origin identified with the maintenance and progress of religious liberty, and enjoying the privilege of admission to the presence of the successive sovereigns of these realms,—hail the visit of your majesty to this metropolis as the honoured guest and ally of our sovereign, Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and regard it as an assurance of continued amity and the free intercourse of the people of both nations in promoting commerce, liberty, and the best interests of society.

"We have been warmly interested in the recent history of the kingdom over which your majesty has been called to reign. To Italy, her kingdoms and republics, has the civilised world looked as the early homes of learning, refinement, and liberty; but Sardinia, under your majesty's reign, has alone generously responded to the expectations and necessities of the times. Her people and her rulers have, with a calm moderation, sought her prosperity. The establishment and administration of constitutional government, the recognition of the independence of the churches of the Waldenses, and of the freedom of conscience and worship of all your subjects,—the emancipation of your people from the wide-spread influence of monastic establishments, and the maintenance of civil government unrestricted by ecclesiastical domination,—have been regarded by the members of this body as auguries of the highest good for all Italy and Europe; and they would thus express their admiration and gratitude for the noble and persevering adherence to the principles of liberty evinced by your majesty.

"We have not been unmoved by the severe afflictions which, under the providence of a gracious God, your majesty has been called to endure, and our prayer is that prolonged life may be granted to your majesty, for the welfare of your people and the prosperity of your kingdom—that your majesty's reign may be prosperous—and that your heart may be cheered by the purest consolations of true religion as revealed in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Signed, by order and on behalf of the
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general body, this 3rd day of December, 1855.

"J. HOWARD HINTON, M.A., *Chairman.*
"JOHN KENNEDY, M.A., *Secretary.*"

Reply of the Sardinian Ambassador to the Chairman of the general body of Dissenting Ministers, &c.

"MR. CHAIRMAN,—In granting to his states constitutional government, King Charles Albert intended to establish the perfect equality and the civil emancipation of all religious professions.

"His successor has worthily followed his example. I am satisfied, consequently, that I convey to you the sentiments of the king in thanking you for the congratulations and good wishes which you have addressed to him on the occasion of his visit to England; and I am confident that it is with great satisfaction that his majesty has seen the course of impartial toleration which, from the commencement of his reign, he has proposed to himself, so perfectly approved by the public opinion of this country.

"Be pleased to accept, Mr. Chairman, the assurance of my high consideration.

"MARQUIS D'AZEGLIO,

"The Minister of Sardinia."

The lord provost of Edinburgh presented an address, as the representative of that community. For bad taste, impolicy, and sectarian folly, this composition could scarcely be exceeded; it drew from his majesty a just and indignant rebuke. They are documents too remarkable to exclude from any history of those events. The address was as follows:—

"In common with the enlightened millions of Europe and of the civilised world, we have contemplated with admiration the magnanimous efforts made by your majesty to establish the great blessings of civil and religious liberty in your own dominions. In particular, as Scotchmen, we cannot fail to regard with peculiar interest and satisfaction the freedom of worship so fully accorded to our brethren of the Waldensian Church—a freedom which we fondly trust will be extended to all your majesty's subjects; and we are convinced that the blessings thus extended to them will be returned a thousand-fold in the increasing temporal and spiritual prosperity of your majesty's dominions. From the past history of the world, we were quite prepared for the kind of resistance to which your majesty's enlightened efforts would be exposed; and the mimic thunders of the Vatican did not in the least take us by surprise. But, holding as we do, that every kingdom is entitled to the exclusive

management of its own internal affairs, and to repudiate all interference from without, we could not contemplate without admiration the merited contempt with which your majesty treated an uncalled-for effort to arrest the progress of improvement on the part of a power whose right to dictate in such a matter is not only unfounded but preposterous. Your majesty may find abundant encouragement to pursue your noble course in the approval of your own conscience—in the support of a brave people—in the enlightened public opinion of Europe—and in the certainty that ‘the curse, causeless, shall not come.’

“Your majesty is now cordially welcomed to a land whose rulers and inhabitants have passed through precisely similar struggles to those in which Sardinia is now engaged, and which has prospered just in proportion as those struggles have been successful. Great Britain has risen from comparative insignificance to occupy the foremost rank amongst the nations of the earth, in consequence of the blessing of the Most High upon the energy of our ancestors in throwing off the yoke of ignorance and superstition, establishing civil and religious liberty, introducing an open Bible, and the universal preaching of the glorious Gospel of the grace of God. All this has been done, also, in opposition to the strenuous resistance and hearty denunciations of the same papal power. Our monarchs, too, have been excommunicated, and those excommunications have never been withdrawn. But ample experience has proved, not only that they are utterly powerless for evil, but that the blessing of God has descended upon Britain just in proportion as, by her fidelity to truth and liberty, she has been found worthy of the curses of the pope.

“We earnestly trust that our own rulers will learn an important lesson, in reference to the unaltered intolerance of the papal system, by the presence of your majesty among them; and that the measures of improvement, so happily introduced into Italy under your majesty’s prosperous reign, may not only be maintained and extended, but may spread until the whole Italian peninsula has been restored to the possession of the same privileges in which your majesty’s subjects so happily rejoice.

“Signed in name, and by appointment of this meeting, this 3rd day of December, 1855, by

“JOHN MELVILLE, *Lord Provost.*”

When it is remembered that the King of Sardinia is a Roman Catholic, and that nine-tenths of his people are of that communion, the impropriety of such an address is at once obvious. Its impolicy was also clear; for had his majesty passed over without some expres-

sion of disapproval the attack upon the Church of Rome, which, whether true or otherwise, was not called for on such an occasion, he would have involved his kingdom and himself in political trouble, and fierce ecclesiastical agitation would have raged through his dominions. As it was, advantage was taken of the occurrence, and the press of Italy, Austria, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal, in the Roman Catholic interest, poured forth columns of fierce invective against the king and his entertainers for weeks after. The following was the reply, given through the ambassador:—

“GENTLEMEN,—The king could not but be very happy to learn, by the address which you have sent to him, the wishes that you entertain for the prosperity of his reign, and his alliance with England and France for the defence of European liberties. His majesty could not but feel deeply gratified by the manner in which you have praised the Sardinian troops who share in the Crimea the common dangers of the allies, and, happily, also the laurels which are their reward. I cannot, however, dissemble that it is with extreme regret his majesty has learned the expressions of contempt with which your address stigmatises the court of Rome. The king, like his ancestors, has considered it a duty to maintain in his hands intact the civil power. He has deeply deplored the line of conduct which the Holy See has believed it its duty to adopt these last years towards him; but, the descendant of a long line of Catholic princes, the sovereign of subjects almost entirely Roman Catholics, he cannot admit words of reprobation so severe, and especially so hurtful, to the chief of that Church upon earth. He cannot share in those sentiments of contempt, which not only could never find an entrance into his heart, but, above all, could never find their place in a reply such as that which I have the honour to address to you. Your address expresses further the hope that his majesty may extend to his subjects of every creed the same privileges conceded to the Vaudois. I am happy to inform you that your wishes are already accomplished. The king, Charles Albert, in emancipating the Vaudois, wished to extend this measure, not only to the Protestants of all denominations, but even to the Jews, who, in the states, enjoy in common the same civil and religious rights. In rehearsing thus the well-known sentiments of the king, I do not doubt that I have secured to him a further title to your esteem; for, a Roman Catholic sovereign, he has proved that in his eyes religion was a symbol of tolerance, of union, and of freedom, and that one of the principles which formed the basis of his government was liberty of conscience.

"Accept, gentlemen, the assurance of my high consideration.

"MARQUIS V. E. D'AZEGLIO."

When the addresses were all delivered, and the deputations withdrawn, his majesty held a diplomatic levée. That terminated, he proceeded to the Guildhall, to meet the citizens of London. On the line of route he was received with acclamations. At the Guildhall, a superb throne was erected upon a dais covered with blue velvet, with the Sardinian knot, and the initials F. E. R. T. (*Federe et religione tene-mur*) embroidered on it, after the fashion of the imperial bee in France. Various other emblems and mottoes afforded gratification to the spectators, and proved the skill and good taste with which the whole was designed.

The recorder, aldermen, and common council advanced to the foot of the throne, and the recorder read the following address:—

"May it please your Majesty,—We, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, desire to offer to your majesty our grateful congratulations on your majesty's arrival in this country, as the honoured guest of our beloved and most gracious queen; and on behalf of our fellow-citizens, and for ourselves, we humbly tender to your majesty the warmest expression of our gratitude for the welcome visit to our city with which you have deigned to honour us this day.

"We hail the arrival of your majesty as a happy proof of the extension of those friendly and intimate relations which it is the wish of this people to cultivate with all nations, and which are daily drawn closer by the cordial intercourse of sovereigns, the interchange of mutual courtesies, and the progress of unrestricted commerce.

"We see in your majesty the representative of a long line of illustrious sovereigns, and rejoice to find the throne filled by one who, in the present momentous epoch, has joined his armies to those of France, Turkey, and England; and who has not only avowed his desire to participate in the triumph of the principles for which the allied powers are now resolutely contending, but, animated by the generous sentiments of his Sub-Alpine people, and the tradition of the house of Savoy, has heroically thrown himself into the cause of justice and civilisation, with a resolution to persevere until a durable peace, guaranteeing to every nation its legitimate rights, shall be obtained.

"It is with solemn gratitude to the Almighty Disposer of events, that we reflect upon the unbroken success which has proved the superior power and bravery of the allied armies and fleets, supported as they have been under almost incredible privations by a lofty sense of

the righteous cause in which they are engaged, and in which the arms of Sardinia have borne so generous a part.

"Our most gracious sovereign, and her illustrious allies, undazzled by the splendour of repeated triumphs, and the continued progress of victory, seek no more than to vindicate the rights of nations, and secure a lasting and honourable peace.

"In the contest for this high purpose, our beloved queen, acting in concert with her allies, may firmly rely upon the strongest and most cheerful efforts of the loyal citizens of London, and of all her people, united as they are in duty and affection to her majesty's person and government, and in a determination to defend the cause of national independence and of civil and religious liberty."

His majesty, the king, read his reply in Italian. The following is a translation:—

"MY LORD MAYOR,—I offer my heartfelt thanks to you, to the Aldermen, and to the Commons of the city of London, for the cordial congratulations which you present to me on the occasion of my visit to her majesty the queen, and to the British nation.

"The reception that I meet with in this ancient land of constitutional liberty, of which your address is a confirmation, is to me a proof of the sympathy inspired by the policy I have hitherto pursued—a policy in which it is my intention constantly to persevere.

"The close alliance existing between the two most powerful nations of the earth is honourable alike to the wisdom of the sovereigns who govern them, and to the character of their people. They have understood how preferable is a mutual advantageous friendship to ancient and ill-defined rivalry. This alliance is a new fact in history, and is the triumph of civilisation. Notwithstanding the misfortunes which have weighed upon my kingdom, I have entered into this alliance, because the house of Savoy ever deemed it to be its duty to draw the sword when the combat was for justice and for independence.

"If the forces which I bring to the allies are those of a state not vast, I bring with them, nevertheless, the influence of a loyalty never doubted, and supported by the valour of an army always faithful to the banners of its kings.

"We cannot lay down our arms until an honourable, and therefore durable, peace has been secured. This we shall accomplish by seeking unanimously the triumph of true right, and the just desire of each nation.

"I thank you for the good wishes you this day express for my future happiness, and for that of my kingdom.

"While you thus express yourselves with respect to the future, it gives me pleasure to

to speak of the present, and to congratulate you on the high position attained by Great Britain. This is to be attributed to the free and noble character of that nation, and also to the virtues of your queen."

In returning from the city, the king paid a token of respect to Lord Palmerston, for he proceeded to the mansion of the noble premier, and held an interview with him before returning to Windsor.

On the 5th her majesty held a Chapter of the order of the Garter, for the purpose of investing the king with that insignia. In the evening a grand banquet was given to the knights in St. George's Hall.

On the morning of the 6th, at five o'clock, the king left Windsor, her majesty rising to bid him adieu at that early hour. Many of the people of Windsor assembled in front of the palace, to pay their parting respects, although the morning was cold and dark, notwithstanding that the stars shone out clear. The king returned to his dominions *via* France, embarking at Folkestone for Boulogne. Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge accompanied him to the place of his embarkation.

The impressions left by the royal visitor were favourable, and much speculation as to his policy and the prospects of his kingdom was indulged in after his departure. The hopes of the liberal and enlightened, in the various provinces of Italy, were directed to him; but the *kasir* was the king's enemy. Ever since the battle of Novara, the royal house of Turin and the imperial house of Hapsburgh had been at bitter enmity—more bitter than is usually the case between crowned heads in open hostility. The ambition and safety of the house of Sardinia alike required a bold and astute policy, and the king was equal to the emergency. The security of the Sardinian throne was continually endangered by the encroaching policy of Austria, which aspired to the domination of all Italy; to possess it by conquest, if possible, but at all events to control the weak princes who nominally ruled within its confines, and by their means to crush out the last spark of Italian liberty. Thus the Duke of Tuscany was an Austrian grand-duke; the duchy of Parma was all but an imperial appanage; Venice, like Lombardy, had politically ceased to be; they were alike Austrian provinces. Naples was ruled by a prince who consulted Austria in everything. The States of the Church were in part occupied by Austrian troops. The *kasir* interfered with the internal government of Switzerland: no wonder that Sardinia should be alarmed for national independence, and for civil and religious liberty, which, without national independence, can never be secure. Under such circumstances it

was necessary for the house of Piedmont to win the support of powers which could countervail Austria and her allies:—France, from her proximity to Italy, and England, from her maritime ascendancy, were the powers whose friendship Sardinia required. As long as Napoleon III. could march an army into Italy, Austria would never invade Piedmont without his consent. As long as England had a garrison at Corfu, and ascendancy in the Mediterranean, Austria would never dare to plant her flag upon the turrets of Genoa. In forming an alliance with the great Western states, the Piedmontese monarch established his throne in defiance of Austria—the only power from whose rapacity he was in danger. It was said, "Could he not as a Roman Catholic prince claim and obtain the protection of the Church, and of the pope the head of the Church, against another Roman Catholic power so obviously a wrongdoer?" His people were as jealous of an invasion of their freedom from the papal chair as from the imperial throne. Besides, the pope could not afford protection, being himself dependent for protection upon the bayonets of both France and Austria. Any moral support of the pope was therefore likely to be given to the stronger Roman Catholic power, from which he himself derived support; he would deem it impolitic to cut off his right hand, because a lesser member of the body ecclesiastical was in pain. The king of Sardinia had no hope but in the two chief naval and military nations; for England—taking into account her colonial troops, her militia, and her general military resources—is obviously a greater military nation than either Austria or Russia. Fear of England and France alone prevented the vengeance of the courts of Vienna and Rome from falling upon the enlightened prince who had so bravely defied them. The Piedmontese monarch had his ambition, however, as well as other kings. If it be "the glorious fault of angels and of gods," the monarch of these Italian hills, so famed in history, was a participator in the error and the glory. He undoubtedly aimed at being king of Italy, his capital in Rome; and the pope, divested of all temporal power, merely permitted to reside there with spiritual jurisdiction. This was a grand ambition, which pope and *kasir* will ever resist to the uttermost. It was, therefore, rather the interest of the king to embroil the emperor and the queen with the *kasir* and the pope; and to preserve the alliance between Victoria and Napoleon, and his own alliance with both. To be the ally of Turkey also helped him, as Turkey was a frontier empire to that of Austria. A united Italy, under a constitutional monarchy, the pope's temporal power blotted out from the European system, the chosen monarch

Victor Emanuel,—was the most practicable plan for remodelling Italy discussed among politicians. There were great difficulties in the way, even if the Italians alone were to be consulted; but arms and address might conquer all. With such projects of ambition, his majesty could not but bring upon himself the hostility of pope and kasir; hence his efforts to conciliate the West. Whatever might

have been the personal objects of the king, our interests and duty constrained us to court his alliance, and sympathise with his constitutional principles of government.

No other events, in either France or England, bore so decisively upon the war as to require a separate notice. Thus the home incidents connected with the great conflict closed for the year 1855.

CHAPTER CXIX.

OPENING OF 1856 IN THE CRIMEA.—INERTNESS OF THE CONTENDING FORCES.—A TERRIBLE BOMBARDMENT FROM THE NORTHERN FORTS, AND UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT BY THE FRENCH TO FIRE A RUSSIAN STEAMER.—UTTER DESTRUCTION OF THE DOCKS OF SEBASTOPOL.

“Destroy the rookeries, and the rooks will depart.”—JOHN KNOX.

THE year 1856 opened with negotiations for peace and preparations for war. Much curiosity and some anxiety were felt in Western Europe as to how Russia regarded her prospects in the contest, and what feelings she entertained in the retrospect of the campaign which the frosts and snows of the closing winter months of 1855 had terminated. Whatever may have been the real feelings of the Russian government and people, the mode in which the former desired to have matters represented was soon betrayed by an article in the *Northern Bee*. “Leading articles” seldom appear in Russian newspapers, but this in the *Northern Bee* was made very prominent as far as type and position could make it, and showed that a ministerial hand had moulded it to the taste and policy of the government. It was headed, “The War beginning in Earnest,” and had for a motto the words of Kutusoff—“The loss of Moscow is not the loss of Russia.” In the outset it laid down as indisputable the allegation that on the 8th of September, 1855, the allies had not conquered an entrance into Southern Sebastopol, which, on the contrary, was strategically abandoned. The article then proceeded thus:—

“For from which side and at what time did the enemy enter the city? Which Russian regiment was compelled to lay down its arms or retreat? Where are the trophies of victory, the hundreds of cannon, heaps of standards, masses of prisoners? Of all this there is not a vestige; and the truth is, that the allies were so intimidated, that they did not venture into the city, after it was evacuated by the Russian troops, for three whole days, and then only with the greatest fear and trembling. It was only for the purpose of no longer serving uselessly as a target to the enemy, who were approaching the walls every day more and more, that the Russians crossed over to the north side, just as one changes one's dress or selects another path. To be sure, it was a

pity to put aside the beautiful purple dress of Sebastopol, but it is only for a time, and the czar will soon give it another one far more magnificent than the former, and the genius of Todtleben and his companions will weave it at their leisure, and without a seam. No joy has been expressed at the so-called victory by the Western powers—neither by the English, who were completely beaten, as they have been in every action since the commencement of the war; nor by the French, who are now in a condition to quote the well-known words of Pyrrhus. The sole trophies of England and France are black crape and mourning dresses. The armies of both fought without any reason, and solely by order of their respective sovereigns, who give them no protection or consolation under their misfortunes, by which they are reduced to the verge of despair; while Russia, on the other hand, attacked without any cause, fought gallantly for honour and self-preservation.

“Such a difference in the moral element of the two contending parties cannot fail to terminate eventually in favour of the Russian arms, which was only at a momentary disadvantage, because it had not sufficient railroads, nor guns of such extreme range as those of the enemy. Whoever puts forth other reasons for the misfortunes that have hitherto befallen us is worse than a traitor to his country, for even the enemy acknowledges the heroic bravery of the Russians, and the superiority of our artillery, and the scientific attainments of our engineers.

“At first it was supposed in the West that, by obtaining possession of the south side of Sebastopol, they had gained everything, and they are now the more surprised to find out their error, and to see that the war has in reality only just commenced—a war which cannot possibly reflect any glory on the governments which brought it on, and can only end in their total prostration. Even now the

blood of their own subjects is not sufficient for their insatiable ambition, and they are obliged to have recourse to all sorts of shifts to obtain men from other nations. With Sardinia the contract of sale has been concluded, and Olzaga will, no doubt, be easily purchased, but it is still a question whether the brave Castilians will allow themselves to be sold. The loan of 1,500,000,000 francs is no proof of patriotic sentiments, for it was nothing more than a jobbing speculation of mostly Jewish bankers to suck out the resources of France, and leave her bound hand and foot, when she will find out to her cost that the empire, instead of the promised peace and plenty, has brought nothing but war and desolation on the unhappy country. England has sunk low both in the estimation of Russia and France. Turkey is unable to move under the weight of the French and English and pro-consuls. How different is the case in Russia, where the emperor never abuses his power, and the people never suffer from tyranny and the cold egotism of their rulers. The czar and his people are indissolubly united, while the first reverse of fortune will not fail to break up the alliance of the enemy. But it is not only behind stone walls that the Russians can fight; their present circumstances in the field are just as favourable. Our troops are now in the open country, for that is the natural scene of action for their valour, but the enemy do not dare to attack them, preferring to sit down and intrench themselves. The enemy are not able to undertake anything of importance, and their position is far from being so favourable as they would make the world believe.

"In the beginning of the war a great part of Europe was no doubt unfavourably disposed towards Russia, which has, however, now no enemies except Louis Napoleon (who ought to love Russia, which is the natural ally of France), and England, and the Democrats, who also hate the French emperor. Prussia and the whole of Germany stand firm on our side. Austria is become cautious, and the other states will come to their senses in time, for Napoleon's overbearing conduct in Greece, Turkey, Rome, Sardinia, Spain, Naples, and all Italy, as well as towards England, whom he leads by the nose, shows sufficiently that he follows the traditionary policy of the first empire.

"The Russians are still in possession of the north side of Sebastopol; and even if we should lose it, the enemy have gained nothing by it, and would not be able to march into the interior of the country. A few attempts may be made to effect a landing at points of no importance—such as Kertch and Eupatoria—but the more important places on the coast are effectively protected and perfectly safe from

any attempts of the enemy. They may come again with more ships, but they will be received by the Russian gun-boats, and we can wait their coming without any alarm."

The new year opened at Sebastopol with very severe weather. Winter assumed its utmost rigours; and notwithstanding the characteristic variableness of the climate, hard frost and snowstorms continued to prevail through the remainder of the winter. The allies, however, were well prepared for this, the English especially. The forces under General Codrington's command for operations when spring should open were as follow:—

LIGHT DIVISION.

First Brigade:—7th, 23rd, 33rd, 34th, 2nd Battalion Rifles.

Second Brigade:—19th, 77th, 88th, 90th, 97th.

FIRST DIVISION.

Guards' Brigade:—3rd Batt. Grenadier Guards, 1st Batt. Coldstream Guards, 1st Batt. Fusilier Guards.

Second Brigade:—9th, 13th 31st, 56th.

SECOND DIVISION.

First Brigade:—3rd, 30th, 55th, 95th.

Second Brigade:—41st, 47th, 49th, 62nd.

THIRD DIVISION.

First Brigade:—4th, 14th, 39th, 50th.

Second Brigade:—18th, 28th, 38th, 44th.

FOURTH DIVISION.

First Brigade:—17th, 20th, 21st, 57th, 63rd.

Second Brigade:—46th, 48th, 68th, 1st Battalion Rifles.

HIGHLAND DIVISION.

First Brigade:—42nd, 79th, 92nd, 93rd.

Second Brigade:—1st, 71st, 72nd.

The artillery force consisted of eleven field-batteries, two heavy brigades, two and a half troops of horse-artillery, twenty-nine companies of the siege-train, and nine companies of Royal Engineers. There were two regiments of infantry, and eighteen artillery companies at Balaklava, the Turkish contingent was at Kertch, a force of British cavalry at Scutari, and the British German legion at Kululi.

Nothing was undertaken against the enemy throughout January, nor did the Muscovites attempt an attack. Their sharpshooters, however, hung about the northern slopes above the Tchernaya, and wasted much time in watching, and much ammunition in endeavours to pick off straying officers and soldiers. Their eagerness to effect these desultory feats was unworthy a great army and a great nation.

The chief occupation of the allies during January was the destruction of the celebrated docks. This work began soon after the capture of Southern Sebastopol, but was more actively pursued in December, 1855, and January, 1856. It was a great work, requiring immense charges of powder, and frequently affording sublime spectacles. The Russians on these occasions generally fired shells, but without doing any mischief. Several officers,

non-commissioned officers, and men, were killed or wounded by the pieces of rock, which the blast flung to surprising distances.

The English provost-marshal at Balaklava exercised great tyranny at this juncture, which caused feelings of insubordination among the transport captains. The bullying and brutality which this functionary was permitted to exercise was disgraceful to the government of the British army.

Various amusements, especially theatricals, were resorted to, as time hung heavily on the camps. The chaplains of the English forces made laudable efforts to establish public lectures on temperance and educational subjects. Sir James Alexander, colonel of the 14th regiment, exerted himself for this object.

When the weather allowed, drill and parade occupied the time of the men, and conduced to their increasing fitness for a spring campaign should the fortune of war demand such service from them.

The 18th was memorable for the great exertions of French and English in destroying the docks and piers; but the work was imperfectly performed, from various causes which could hardly have been foreseen.

So little worthy of note occurred up to the last week of the month, that the following summary of proceedings by the correspondent of the *Daily News* affords as complete a history of the events at Sebastopol as could well be given:—

“During the last three or four days the camps on the extreme right have been on the alert, in the expectation of an attack from the enemy. Rumour fixed upon the 12th instant, the Russian New Year’s Day, as the probable date of this event. Nothing more than usual transpired, however, nor did observation of the enemy’s position indicate any signs of movement. In the course of the morning of the 12th General Codrington rode over towards Inkerman to reconnoitre, attended by two of his staff, and, as usual, a single orderly dragoon. The limited number of his escort forms a striking contrast with the brilliant cavalcade which generally announces the approach of Marshal Pelissier, or even with the escort which ordinarily accompanies a French general commanding a *corps d’armée* or division.

“There has been a sudden and remarkable change in the weather. When the last mail left it was difficult to believe, judging from the temperature and appearance of everything around, that spring had not already arrived. On Saturday, the 12th, the sun shone brightly, and the weather was so mild and fine, that the winter clothing was universally laid aside. The following day we had mists and constant rain until evening, when the wind, which had

been previously blowing from the west, changed to the northward. The thermometer fell rapidly, and yesterday morning at nine o’clock indicated only ten degrees Fahrenheit above zero. The temperature continued very low all day, and, being accompanied with a strong wind from the north, the cold was felt very severely. Snow found its way through every crack and crevice of the wooden dwellings, and every precaution was necessary in the open air to prevent frostbite. The roads, which were previously in an exceedingly muddy and uneven condition, became suddenly congealed, and have since been trying enough to the transport animals and passengers from their hardened, irregular, and slippery surface. The troops everywhere appear very healthy and vigorous, notwithstanding these sudden variations of climate. Some of the French troops in the plain are reported to be suffering from a form of scorbutic disease.

“No occurrence of note has taken place in the camps. A few days ago, a French officer, wandering too near the Tchernaya River in pursuit of game, was shot dead by a Russian sharp-shooter. Two English officers, who had managed to get in front of the French sentries in the same valley, had a narrow escape of a similar fate the day before yesterday. They were wandering on, and had got some distance in advance towards the position of the Russian sentries. A French sentry, who had called in vain, at last hit upon the expedient of discharging his musket to attract their attention, and fired over their heads. This roused them quickly enough, and, on looking round, they discovered a group of three or four Russians, partly concealed, and apparently awaiting their nearer approach, among some rushes at the opposite edge of the river. They at once turned back toward the French lines, and regained them, not without some risk, for the Russian shots grooved up the ground about them near enough to prove the necessity of the sentry’s warning. The Russian sharpshooters line the whole length of the Tchernaya on the north side, and omit no opportunity of firing a shot at a casual straggler.

“A very important change has been made in the constitution of the Land Transport Corps. The sections of the corps which have hitherto been designated divisions, and have been under the direction of ‘captains of divisions,’ subject to the control of the director-general of the land transport, are, in future, to be regiments, each under the command of a field officer, and subject to the orders of the general of the division of the army to which it may happen to be attached. There can be no doubt but that this arrangement will lead to stricter discipline among the men, better security of public property, and facilitate the

necessary arrangements, in case of one or two divisions being detached from the main body of the army. The details of this plan have been published in an after order.

"The fourth division is going to arrange a new theatre near Cathcart's Hill, and two small packs of harriers are daily expected out—to follow drags. On Saturday afternoon, eleven of the previously unexploded twenty-five charges were fired—three by electric wire, and eight by Bickford's fuse. All went off; and although the explosion would be pronounced by engineers a complete demolition of the left side of the east dock, still persons ignorant of these matters might not consider it complete, as the coping, &c., at the top of the *revêtement* still remains.

"Yesterday No. 3 general order was to the following effect:—'All officers are desired to complete themselves with pack-saddles and field equipment with as little delay as possible. General officers will be so good as to see that this order is attended to in their respective divisions.' This looks like a move in the spring.

"*January 19th.*—There is little to record during the past week but the various rumours with which the camps have been agitated respecting the chances of a cessation of hostilities, and the plans of the future campaign in case the negotiations for peace should be unsuccessful. These rumours are so contradictory, that they are scarcely worth repeating.

"The whole army is now going through a regular course of target practice. Detachments from every regiment are daily engaged in this exercise. The new system of instruction in the use of the rifled musket, as taught at the government school of musketry at Hythe, is strictly carried out, and thus, before the winter terminates, the men of the whole army will be fully trained in one uniform method of using their firearms. Colonel Clarke Kennedy, who formerly held an appointment at the school at Hythe, and who now occupies a situation on the adjutant-general's department of this army, superintends the whole. The Land Transport Corps is reported to be fast regaining its efficiency, under the active surveillance of Colonel Wetherall, who is acting as director-general in the absence of Colonel McMurdo. Thus, the prospects of the British forces, so far as the army in the Crimea is concerned, being found in an effective condition at the ensuing spring, are now on all sides exceedingly favourable.

"An unfortunate accident occurred on the 15th instant. Lieutenant J. Homdon Messenger, of the 46th regiment, was engaged with a few men in blasting some rock near the main military road, not far from the iron huts. He had been some time employed as an

acting engineer, and was then superintending the repair of a portion of the road. The usual method for obtaining the fragments of stone—'metal,' as it is technically called—for filling up the depressions caused by the rain and constant traffic, is by blasting the limestone which is found everywhere at a moderate depth below the superficial soil of the plateau. In the present instance the explosion of the charge did not take place so speedily as was anticipated, and Lieutenant Messenger at once went forward to examine the cause. A non-commissioned officer who was present warned him against approaching the blast so quickly. He thought, as no doubt was the case, that the lighted slow-match might be burning more slowly than usual on account of damp or some other accidental cause. Mr. Messenger had just stooped to see if the slow-match were still ignited, when the explosion took place, and some of the detached fragments of rock were projected with full force against the unfortunate officer. He received some dreadful injuries about the head, which proved immediately fatal. The non-commissioned officer, who was standing near, was severely scorched and bruised; he was removed to the neighbouring hospital of the 55th regiment, in the second division.

"On Wednesday an armistice was declared till four in the afternoon, up to which time the Russians and the French amused themselves by walking about in the Tchernaya Valley in front of the outposts. They were so near together that they could distinctly see each other's countenances.

"Since the last mail left the English engineers have blown up the entrance gate to the east dock, and to day there will, in all probability, be another small explosion; but, at the present rate of proceeding, the whole of the English half-portion of the docks will not be destroyed till the middle of next month."

On the 24th news arrived in the camps that Russia had accepted the Austrian ultimatum, of which in our next chapter on diplomacy account will be given. The tidings were welcome to the older officers, non-commissioned officers, and men who had won promotion, and whose persons bore scars of honour, as well as decorations of merit; but the younger officers were anxious to find opportunity to distinguish themselves, and the general feeling of the army was that England ought not to make peace while the Russians remained in the Crimea, nor until the military superiority of England had been incontestably established in the judgment of all the world. The intelligence that the Austrian ultimatum was accepted did not prevent our troops from maintaining the alert; nor did the acceptance of these proposals prevent the Russians from opening, on the 29th, a

formidable cannonade, the most impressive which had been heard since the capture of the south side. It appeared as if the destruction of the docks had occasioned this outburst, as the fire was chiefly directed against the Karabelnaia suburbs, and the vicinity of the dock ruins. Probably the enemy supposed that some new and especial operations were about to be undertaken there. The cannonade began at half-past nine o'clock, from a battery at the head of the harbour, and soon extended to all the forts and batteries on the north, from which a fire could be opened with any prospect of effect. At the opening of the cannonade an English sentinel declared that he saw a number of boats crossing the harbour. This statement was confirmed by other soldiers on guard, so that the British opened a musketry fire in the direction which it was supposed the boats were crossing. Nothing, however, could be seen with distinctness, as the night was one of "pitch darkness." It is extremely difficult to account for this affair. On that night two boats were sent out by the French for the purpose of setting fire to the last remaining steamer, which was moored at the entrance of Soukhaya Creek. Possibly the Russians, detecting these boats, suspected their real object, or some other, and opened fire. The French returned without accomplishing their purpose, one of the boats was struck with a shell, so that she scarcely arrived by shore when she sunk; some men were also wounded. The crews reported that they crossed seven Russian boats, which, however, did not molest them; but the French deemed it prudent to put back. Probably those boats were sent out on a reconnaissance, and gave the alarm by some signal which might be easily heard, that the French were on the alert, and the guns of the forts in consequence opened. The French were engaged on the same night undermining Fort Nicholas, and their lights were probably seen. This would account for the Russian boats having been sent upon reconnaissance, and the discovery of French boats upon the harbour, together with the lights shown, probably led the enemy to suppose that some serious enterprise was at hand, and hence the effort to frustrate it by a heavy fire, and by a formidable demonstration that the Russians were prepared. The scene during this bombardment was magnificent, the darkness of the night conducing to its grandeur. So incessant were the flashes, and the light of the burning shells, that forts, harbour, and the hills beyond appeared lit up by continuous momentary fires. On the side of the allies all was darkness,—the roar of the artillery and the crash of falling buildings added to the sublimity of the occasion. At length the cannonade gradually lessened, and finally died away. The results produced by it were—the frustration of the

French attempt to burn the steamer, the delay of the works of the French mines, the further dilapidation of the ruined buildings of the Karabelnaia suburbs, the temporary excitement of the allies, and a few men of the French boats and English regiments wounded.

January passed away without any further incident to enliven its monotony or cheer its gloom. The French operations connected with the destruction of the docks took place on the 1st of February. The entire of these once splendid structures were reduced to heaps of rubbish, and masses of broken gates and stone. How could a Russian look upon the destruction of these magnificent constructions, and perceive the battered stores and barracks, and the masts of the sunken navy of the Euxine just above the water, without indignation at the transparent imposture attempted to be played off by the Russian government and press upon the Russian people and upon Europe, that Gortschakoff only retired to the north side as a strategic measure, leaving nothing worth defence behind? All the glory of Sebastopol had departed when, on the 1st of February, 1850, the last shattered remnant of the noble docks fell in rubbish, upheaved by the miner's art. No conquest could be more complete—a fleet sunk, a city captured, an arsenal in ruins, and vast docks, built to shelter conquering navies, torn up and flung in divided masses around! The army that could look on and see all this evil inflicted by an enemy, when to escape that enemy their own hands had anticipated a part of the destruction upon which it looked, and know that all this transpired on ground which it had occupied and defended, or in the vicinity of that ground, and commanded by its salient points, and yet talk of successful strategy and humbled foes, must be more audacious in effrontery and falsehood, more given up to self-deceit, or have more faith in bold and improbable imposture, than ever before could be predicted of any collection of human beings.

The following despatch of Sir William Codrington, with the inclosure of Lieutenant-general Lloyd, the British engineer officer, will furnish all the detail necessary. This despatch and its inclosure are remarkably interesting, as giving a clear idea of these tremendous works, and the destruction which was effected. On the 2nd of February, Sir William Codrington sent home a despatch in reference to the great operation of blowing up the last portions of the Sebastopol docks:—

"The destruction of the docks of Sebastopol is now completed; the sides of the last dock were blown in yesterday morning, small parts of the wall here and there only remaining. Thus the whole of the canal of entrance and north docks in charge of the French, the basin

in our mutual charge, and the south docks in English charge, are separate but shapeless masses of dirt—heavy broken stones, split beams of timber, and shattered gates protruding from the heap of confusion.

“The labour of destruction has been difficult: these fine works were formed in the middle ravine at its outlet in an inner and sheltered part of the harbour, one of the natural watercourses from the plateau on which we are encamped. This end of the ravine, about 700 yards from its mouth, seems to have been filled in so as to create a great artificial dam of earth, which, with the banks on each side, form three sides of a raised inclosure looking down upon the docks. A solid stone wall, much struck by shot, crowns this sort of natural square; the fine but shattered barracks standing still higher on the left, with the sheds and dockyard buildings, the masting sheers, and a long quay to Fort Paul in front jutting into the harbour, show how well adapted all was for its purpose. It is now a picture of destruction, desolation, and silence; there lies against the quay the half-sunken hull of a vessel, and in the harbour beyond, the only things breaking the surface of the water are the lower masts of sunken ships of war.

“The drainage of the water of the middle ravine must, however, pass through to the harbour somewhere, and it was this that so much impeded the shafts; for the water from rains often stood two feet high over the floor of the docks, and thus of course filled the shafts themselves. Some details of the execution of these are given in the inclosed summary from Colonel Lloyd, commanding the Royal Engineers, the immediate executive officers being Colonel Gordon and Major Nicholson.

“Amid great difficulties of cold and wet, very severe frost at one time, and perpetually recurring pressure at another, the work went steadily on, and great praise is due to all those concerned—the engineers and sappers, parties of the Royal Artillery, the 18th regiment, and latterly the 48th regiment. These parties return to their duty to-morrow, after constant and laborious work.

“The casualties have been but six, of which two only have been fatal, and one man of the 48th regiment was lost by foul air in a shaft; after several vain attempts by Major Nicholson, other officers, and men—themselves descending at great risk—the poor fellow’s body was brought up, but life was gone.

“Your lordship will see that Colonel Lloyd expresses his obligation to Mr. Deane and the chief engineer of her majesty’s ship *Royal Albert* for their assistance.

“The voltaic battery, we must confess, did not always succeed; it seems to require great nicety in preparation; but in those cases in

which I saw it succeed, the effect was perfect—ignition and its results, the shake of the ground, the heaving up of the mass seemed to be instantaneous. The destruction of other things will continue.”

The report of Colonel Lloyd, referred to in the foregoing despatch, was dated February the 1st:—

“After a period of three months’ unceasing labour in the dockyard, for the destruction of the docks, in compliance with Lord Panmure’s orders, it affords me very great satisfaction to report, for your excellency’s information, the termination of our exertions in the demolition of that portion allotted to the English, which consisted of the three docks on the south side, and one-half of the east and west sides of the basin.

“The result of our operations has been the perfect destruction of the whole, the foundations being completely torn up. The length of time occupied in effecting the above object has, I regret, far exceeded what had been anticipated, owing to many circumstances over which no human being could have any control. Your excellency, I believe, is aware that on the morning of the 16th of December, 1855, after a very heavy and continuous fall of rain, all the shafts which had been sunk behind the *revêtement* walls of the docks were found to have twenty feet of water in them, the shafts being thirty feet deep; and the shafts along the bottoms of the dock, which had been sunk to a depth of twelve feet, were not only quite full of water, but had two feet six inches of water above the floors of the docks themselves.

“A very large party was employed day and night endeavouring to reduce the water, and effected this object but slowly, as the water continued to find its way in by percolation. At this stage of the work the wet weather was suddenly succeeded by intense frost, which for some days rendered our pumps useless, thus causing a further delay, and obliging us to bale the water out of the shafts, resuming the pumping as soon as the pumps would work again, which has been continued to the very last. It was the intention to have destroyed one entire dock at a time, but owing to the influx of water such an arrangement was obliged to be abandoned, and such charges only as could from time to time be prepared were fired, the pumping in very many cases being kept up day and night until the last moment. The bottoms and sites were blown up before the sides were destroyed, which enabled us to be satisfied that the former were thoroughly demolished.

“I must observe that, as the demolition of the northern portion was carried out by the

French, it is incumbent on me to explain why their operations were not subjected to as many difficulties as fell to our lot. Their docks were four feet higher in level than ours, and in no instance had they, I understand, any water to contend against, or, at least, so small a quantity as to be scarcely appreciable. Their charges in the bottoms were not more than six feet deep, whereas ours averaged ten feet six inches in depth.

"Though the external effect of some of our explosions may not appear great, I am happy to say that every portion of the masonry is either absolutely torn down or left in so dangerous a condition that it will add very much to the difficulties of rebuilding.

"I was extremely anxious that the facilities afforded by her majesty's government for the employment of voltaic batteries on a large scale, as sent out by the Admiralty under Mr. Deane, should be fairly tested under the most favourable circumstances. I applied to Vice-admiral Sir E. Lyons, who kindly offered the services of Mr. Deane, submarine engineer, to carry out the voltaic operations, and this gentleman had every assistance in skilled labour afforded him from the Royal Sappers and Miners.

"Many failures having taken place in firing the charges of electricity, owing to different causes; I am inclined to doubt its advantages as applicable generally to military purposes.

"The pair of dock-gates ordered to be taken down and sent as trophies to England were removed with considerable difficulty, being very massive and strongly put together with bolts, nuts, &c., which had become rusty.

"I cannot say too much in praise of the exertions both of officers and men, including a party of 350 of the 18th and 48th regiments, in addition to the Royal Sappers and Miners, amounting to eighty-five, in the destruction of the docks, though they had to work, for the greater part of the time, day and night, during the severest weather; and in having brought this service to a successful issue, after so many drawbacks, which, instead of causing despair and dispiriting those employed, only stimulated them to renewed exertions.

"I should be remiss in my duty were I to omit acknowledging the very valuable assistance I have received throughout from Colonel Gordon, C.B., the executive officer, Major Nicholson, who was the resident engineer, and Lieutenants Cumberland, Graham, and C. Gordon, Royal Engineers; their unremitting zeal, attention, and devotion to the work, in accomplishing this troublesome task, under difficulties of no ordinary nature, claim my warmest thanks. I am also much indebted to Mr. Deane, submarine engineer, whose valuable services in preparing and firing most of the mines by

voltaic action were kindly placed at my disposal by his excellency Vice-admiral Sir E. Lyons.

"I must not omit to acknowledge the professional aid received from the chief and assistant engineers of her majesty's ship *Royal Albert* (until that ship sailed for Malta), in the taking to pieces of the dock-gates. In connection with this service, the assistance afforded by a large party of the Royal Artillery, placed at my disposal by Lieutenant-general Sir Richard Daeres, and under the superintendence and direction of Lieutenant-colonel Bent, Royal Engineers, I cannot but appreciate."

On the 4th of February the French utterly destroyed the great Fort Nicholas. Originally this fort mounted nearly 200 guns, ranged in three tiers, the highest being on the roof. It was situated on the promontory which separated the south harbour and Artillery Bay; the batteries swept the entrance to the roadstead. Its form was that of a horseshoe. To this place the women and children had been brought for safety at the beginning of the siege. Afterwards General Osten-Sacken and General Todtleben took up their quarters there. Most of our officers knew that the French engineers had resolved to attempt the demolition of Fort Nicholas on the 4th, and accordingly they crowded up from the camps to the city on that morning. At half-past twelve the commanders-in-chief were on the scene. Many officers of the Sardinian staff and of his own rode with Sir William. Pelissier was too stout to ride, and came up in a small phaeton, drawn by four greys, and attended by a cavalry escort. At one o'clock the French engineers began their operations, for which careful preparations had been made by the sappers and miners throughout the morning. Perceiving the generals and their staff, the Russians stood to their guns, from which they discharged shells, all of which fell short, or broke harmlessly wide of the groups at which they were thrown. The extremities of the fort were first destroyed, and then followed the demolition of the whole of the fine structure thus doomed to perish. Sublimely and awfully the progress of the work developed scene after scene in rapid succession, and finally the entire of the stupendous pile of masonry was in total ruin. Seven mines were fired, and these exploded successively, causing the earth to tremble, their thunders reverberating along the ground, while the smoke, in thick and struggling waves, rolled slowly over Sebastopol. The enemy ceased firing at the first explosion, and for some time after the smoke cleared away, gazed in stillness at the low bank where, scattered and smoking, lay the ruins of that once proud fortress.

Afterwards a dropping fire against the town and suburbs was maintained, as if the chance of some officer falling by a stray shot would repay the loss of Fort Nicholas.

On the same day General Codrington directed a despatch to Lord Panmure describing the occurrence:—

“ Marshal Pelissier informed me a few days ago that this day Fort Nicholas would be destroyed, and he sent again to say that at 1 p.m. the mines for this purpose would be fired. The view over the whole harbour is well obtained from the interior of the slope of the Redan Hill, and from other points within the Russian lines. The day was magnificently clear; every sentry on the opposite side could be seen, every working-party watched, every soldier that was lounging in the sun; occasional shot and shell were sent from the enemy to the Karabelnaia and the town, but otherwise nothing disturbed the usual appearance of quiet, almost of desolation. On our (the south) side we looked down on the large ruined barracks in front, on the inner creek of the dockyard, the quay, and the remains of Fort Paul, the spacious inlet from the harbour on our left, beyond which stand the roofless buildings of Sebastopol itself. There also is the well-remembered long line of pointed arches, the casemates of the interior of Fort Nicholas, of which the embrasures in double tier pointed to seaward and away from us. It juts out into the harbour built on an inner tongue of land; Fort Constantine forming a similar but more outward defence for the sea approach on the north. The scene and feeling of expectation were of great interest, for another tangible proof of power and success was to take place, and 106,000 lbs. of powder were in the several mines. At the hour named, a burst of smoke, dark and thick, rolled from our left of the building; it was followed by another; the heavy sound arrived—the stones were shot into the air and into the sea: the explosions of the extreme right and the centre mingled at little intervals into one drifting cloud, which veiled the destruction below. The light of the sun played beautifully on the mass of smoke, of which the lower part lay long and heavily on its victim. The breeze passing it away over the remains of the town, showed that a low line of ruin was all that remained of the pride of Fort Nicholas, and one standing menace of the harbour lay buried under its waters. The state of the docks has been given in detail in my letters. They are all destroyed, whilst the earth surrounding them is shaken into cracks,—basin, docks, masses of broken granite, capstans, gates, beams of iron and of timber, are tumbled into one mass of destruction.”

Although, as Sir William Codrington's despatch affirmed, the destruction of the docks was completed on the 1st, several fortifications remained, of which Fort Nicholas was the chief; Fort Alexander was also a formidable erection, and on the 11th the French engineers proceeded to its demolition. Ninety guns had been mounted on this bulwark, and commanded the approach and entrance to the roadstead. It was blown up by Russian gunpowder—a part of the captured stores after the events of the 8th of September. The same day the English destroyed the Barrack or White Buildings.

Lord Panmure published on the 14th a missing report of General Daeres, which had been written to Lord Raglan in May, 1855. The omission of papers of this kind produced a bad effect upon the army, and frequently there was great carelessness in this respect during Lord Raglan's command. Accordingly there appeared in the *London Gazette* the following, dated from the War-office:—

“ Lord Panmure has received from the field-marshal commanding-in-chief a letter, calling his attention to the omission from the *London Gazette* of the 2nd of November, 1855, of a report from Lieutenant-general Sir R. Daeres, K.C.B., to Field-marshal Lord Raglan, written upon an earlier occasion than the report therein published, and in which the services of Colonel Edward C. Warde, Royal Artillery, who commanded the Royal Artillery of the siege-train from the 6th of February to the 3rd of August, 1855, were brought to the notice of the field-marshal.

“ An extract from the above-named report is now published in extension of the report previously given:—

“ In forwarding Lieutenant-colonel Warde's report on the conduct of the artillery officers during the second bombardment of Sebastopol, it is only left for me to express my entire concurrence in all he has said; but let me in addition say how much I am indebted to Lieutenant-colonel Warde for his unwearied exertions in arming the batteries, and his great attention to all the duties he has had to perform; nor can I speak too highly of Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, Captain Oldfield, Brigade-major Reilly, and the two adjutants, Lieutenants Lyons and Ruck-Keene. These have all come under my immediate notice. I must, in conclusion, not omit to mention the gallantry of the non-commissioned officers and men, which could not be surpassed.”

On the date of the above publication in the *Gazette* Sir Colin Campbell, whose absence had been caused chiefly by illness, rejoined his division, and was welcomed by his gallant Highlanders with delight.

A grand competition in rifle-shooting was useful to the British army, as calling up some emulation in the use of that important weapon, as well as engaging the soldiers in a manner to prevent the bad consequences of idleness or dissipation. Four of the infantry divisions were the only troops that entered the lists—the Guards, the light, the second, and the fourth. The reason of this was that the men selected to represent these divisions were so expert as to render any attempt to emulate them by the rest of the army hopeless. After a trial shot by each competitor, to see that his weapon was serviceable, he fired four rounds. The rivalry between officers and men was great, but indulged with good temper and generous feeling. The men won. The best shot was a sergeant of the 20th regiment, a corps that went to the Crimea with the Brown Bess, and were not supplied with the Minié until after the battle of Inkerman. The second man in the order of success was a corporal of the 77th regiment; the third was a private of the Guards; the fourth was Colonel Blane. It had been generally expected by the army that the victory would have fallen to Captain Ponsonby, but he was not successful, although supposed to be the best rifle-hand in the service.

On the 24th of February a review of the British army took place, in which 25,000 infantry appeared in line, and commanded the admiration of our gallant allies, who looked upon the scene with interest. Four Spanish officers, attached to the French head-quarters, attracted much attention by their appearance. Pelissier, as usual in his carriage, was present. Scarcely were the troops drawn up, when a Russian shell burst high in air over the Tchernaya Valley. It was probably thrown up to intimate that our enemies were spectators of the scene. After the inspection in line, the troops marched past the general in open column; the general of each division, while his division was passing, took post beside the general-in-chief. As the band of each brigade reached the spot where General Codrington stood, it halted, and continued to play until the brigade passed by. The music of these bands could not be praised; one band, in compliment to Marshal Pelissier, played *Partant pour la Syrie*. As the regiments passed, the foreigners assembled,—French, Spanish, and Sardinian,—and made animated comments upon their qualities and appearance. The Guards, by their stalwart forms, aided by the red uniforms, which give such an appearance of breadth of chest and shoulders to our infantry, were objects of great interest. The Rifles, with their slung pieces, and easy gait, wore an appearance of which any army might be proud. But the Highlanders chiefly attracted attention. They had

suffered less than any other division of the army, except by sickness; they had not borne the brunt of war. Their chief service in the hostile field was at Alma. These veterans had a stern, manly, well-disciplined aspect, which drew forth murmurs of applause from the beholders. They seemed best where all appeared excellent. The performances of their bands excited smiles which nearly rose to laughter on the part of our allies.

Amidst all the pomp of war presented, the proudest sign was the colours of the regiments: those of the 77th and 97th were terribly rent and riddled by the shot of the enemy, but that of the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers, was chief in glory—it hung almost in tatters from the staff; it had indeed been gallantly upheld through fierce and unequal struggles, and borne with honour through them all. Yet there were regiments whose banners were even more shattered, so that they had literally to tie them, or keep them furled. A second *défilé* in close column took place, and then the troops marched away to their divisional encampments. Marshal Pelissier complimented General Codrington upon the fine appearance of his infantry, for it was strictly an infantry review; no artillery, and no cavalry, except the Hussar escort in attendance upon General Codrington. The effect of the review upon the army and upon our allies was in every respect salutary.

On the 25th, the commander-in-chief directed the following order of the day, signed by General Windham, chief of the staff, to be issued to the army:—

“The queen has been graciously pleased to give orders for the appointment of the following officers of her majesty’s forces to be ordinary members of the military divisions of the second and third classes of the most honourable Order of the Bath respectively, viz.:—Second class, or knights commanders: Sir George Maclean, commissary-general; Dr. John Hall, inspector-general of hospitals. Third class, or companions: Colonel Charles Trollope, 62nd regiment; Colonel John St. George, Royal Artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel A. St. G. Stepany, Coldstream Guards; Lieutenant-colonel W. W. Turner, unattached; Lieutenant-colonel George Bent, Royal Engineers; Lieutenant-colonel E. F. Bouchier, Royal Engineers; Major H. F. Strange, Royal Artillery; Major H. C. C. Owen, Royal Engineers; Major J. F. M. Brown, Royal Engineers; Dr. David Dumbreck, deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Dr. William Linton, deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Dr. John Forrest, deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Mr. Thomas Alexander, deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Mr. John B. Taylor, deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Dr. Archibald Gordon,

deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Mr. James Mouat, staff surgeon, 1st class; Mr. George Adams, deputy commissary-general; Mr. J. W. Smith, deputy commissary-general; Mr. W. H. Drake, deputy commissary-general."

The publication of this order gave great satisfaction to the army, but it was followed, on the same day, by a series of orders which created as much dissatisfaction among the correspondents of the English press, and when the "order" reached England, caused the press universally to attack the general's discretion, and to make very free with his style of writing; eventually the public shared the feeling of the conductors of the press, and Sir William was much censured.

"No. 1.—The commander of the forces congratulates the army on the appearance of a large portion of its infantry yesterday.

"The winter is hardly past, yet the efficiency and good health of the men were apparent to all. This result is due to the exertions of the general and regimental officers; to the attention, obedience, and discipline of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers; and must be as gratifying to them as the commander of the forces is sure it must be to their country.

"This order will be read to the troops.

"No. 2.—The notice of the commander of the forces has been brought to the publication in a newspaper, by a correspondent at Kertch, of minute details of lines and works, strength of garrisons, and various military arrangements;—all, however old and incorrect they may be, published for our enemies, under the supposition that such things are necessary for the interest or amusement of the people of England. "The people of England have more common sense. They do not want to see the interests of the army betrayed by the thoughtless activity of a correspondent, or by the wish of any one else to see himself in print.

"The commander of the forces has referred General Vivian to the details published from the district he commands. He authorises him to arrest the individual and send him away at once, unless he has reason to believe that such folly will not be repeated.

"The commander of the forces has occasionally seen similar things from this camp. Strength of regiments, sickness, batteries, guns, quantity of ammunition, the state of preparation, means of transport, the very situation of concealed batteries, the strength of pickets, the best means of attacking them,—all recklessly detailed, as if on purpose to instruct an enemy.

"Common precaution, for the sake of the army, requires that this should cease.

"The commander of the forces appeals to the right sense of duty in the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of this army. He is sure that to them the appeal will not be in vain. It is our pride, as Englishmen, to feel that we may write everything to our friends: it need not be that we should publish everything about our strength or our weakness, of ditches and guns, of resources and disadvantages; for to print all such things is simply to make our enemies wise by our own folly. The commander of the forces trusts, therefore, that private friends in England will imitate the caution he asks in camp.

"There are also known correspondents of newspapers, not belonging to the army, permitted by passport to reside in several of the camps here. Generals of division will, by means of their assistant adjutant-general, bring the tenour of this order to their notice; for a course dictated by common feelings of patriotism must be followed by all who, being under the protection of the army, are equally liable to the observances necessary for its safety.

"No. 3.—The following appointments are made, until her majesty's pleasure is known:—

"Acting quartermaster-sergeant W. Cooke, Grenadier Guards, to act as adjutant of the 7th regiment.

"Quartermaster-sergeant J. Dwyer, 46th regiment, to act as adjutant of his regiment, *vice* Lieutenant Cross, who resigns the adjutancy.

"No. 4.—Leave of absence is granted, at the recommendation of a medical board, to Lieutenant G. H. Waller, 7th regiment, and, until his retirement from the service, to Captain Armit, 47th regiment, to proceed to England. On their arrival they will report themselves to the adjutant-general."

The English papers vindicated their patriotism at the expense of Sir William's prudence, and the *Times* declared that the only imprudent letters in its columns—if, indeed, any could be considered indiscreet—were such as had been written by military officers, whose minuteness of military detail gave to their information a peculiarity which did not belong to the civilian who regularly supplied the intelligence from the seat of war. The articles in the British newspapers reached the army, and "squibs" upon Sir William were pretty freely flung about through the camp. The love of unfettered discussion, characteristic of the present generation of Englishmen, pervaded the ranks of the army as well as "the ranks of the people."

The health of the army now assumed a most favourable condition, so that the report of Dr. Hall, for the week ending the 23rd of

February, declared that *no death from disease had occurred during the week.*

On the 28th of February the electric telegraph brought to the generals of the allied armies the tidings that an armistice had been signed, which was to last until the 31st of March. Before the allies received the intelligence the Russians were in possession of it, and hoisted a flag of truce, which was answered by the allies. Communications took place, and the morning of the 29th was appointed for a conference. Immediately before the hour arranged for that purpose, a group of Russian horsemen advanced into the plain, and were twice fired upon by the French before they halted. After some confusion the mistake was corrected, and the French and British officers, selected for the duty, advanced to meet the Russians,—General Martimprey on behalf of the French, General Windham on behalf of the British, and Colonel Count Petilli represented the Sardinian army: these were attended by officers and escorts. The place of rendezvous was occupied by two tents at the allied side of the Traktar Bridge, which was surmounted by a white flag. The generals entered the tents; the allied officers in attendance crossed the bridge, and made such attempts as they were able to converse with the Russians. Cigars, riding-whips, and other tokens of good-will were exchanged. The Russians verified even there, and in little things, the aphorism of Napoleon I., that “a Russian is a man without faith,”—for they took care only to exchange whips and sticks that were worthless, for the excellent or ornamental articles of that nature possessed by the English, and on subsequent occasions of interview they attempted to pass off the worst of the English sticks and whips, or such as had been injured, for new or superior ones. The English at last learned to decline these interchanges, as well as to despise the petty impositions attempted. The French were more suspicious of Russian manners, and while they conversed with such as could speak French, and deported themselves very politely, they avoided such exchanges of souvenirs as the English conceded.

There were some difficulties in arranging the truce between the belligerents, these regarded the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff; but were eventually arranged, rather in the interest of the allies, but not unfairly. The allies sought, however, to take an unfair advantage, by insisting upon the right to embark men or *matériel* from the southern side of Sebastopol. The object of this was to send off in boats the captured guns and stores. The Russians perceived this object, and observed that the seaboard was not in the possession of the allies, that no boat would leave but under the fire of the northern forts, and that no boat should

leave while Russian guns could command its range. After some energetic disputation on this point, it was given up by the allies, and the truce was arranged.

During the month of March the intercourse between the allies and their late enemies was frequent, and the former learned many facts connected with the past events of the war which threw considerable light upon the deeds and misdeeds of all parties. Perhaps the most important facts which they learned were, that had the allies followed the advice of the gallant general of the fourth division, and attempted Sebastopol by a *coup de main*, they would have found the enemy in confusion and despondency, and unprepared to resist.

The health of the English army continued excellent during the month of March; that of the Sardinian army was not so good, the average deaths being double those of the English; but the French suffered severely, and had suffered unceasingly from the beginning of the closing winter months of 1855 to the treaty of peace. So many as 120 a day were said to have died during the month of March. The causes of this were various; many of the soldiers were young, not the men who had borne the brunt of the war. The food arrangements were not so substantial as those of the English, nor the clothing so suitable to the climate. Some of the French camps were in the vicinity of places where recent and extensive burials had taken place; these and some other causes were assigned as operating to the detriment of the physical condition of the French army.

Notwithstanding the previous arrangement of armistice some difficulties arose, and another conference took place on the 14th of March, on which occasion the generals-in-chief participated. The Army-works Corps did not enjoy the good health of the rest of the British army, neither did the Land Transport Service. This Dr. Hall attributed to the men being very young, and recently sent out from England. On the 17th of March a fire broke out in Balaklava, by which sixteen of the Army-works Corps occupying one hut perished.

The debates in the British parliament, raised by Sir de Laey Evans on the subject of purchase of commissions, excited animated discussions in the English camp, when the newspapers recording these debates reached the Crimea. The general feeling of the non-commissioned officers and men was in favour of the opinion of Sir de Laey Evans; but the officers, in a majority overwhelming, were opposed to the abolition of purchase, and by many the warmest indignation was expressed, not only against General Evans and Lord Gode-rieh, and other of the gullant general's supporters, but also against Lord Palmerston, for even

his small concessions and qualified admissions. It was observable that the officers most opposed to the abolition of the purchase system were the sons of rich tradesmen. Amongst the aristocratic officers there were some who advocated the scheme of General Evans, and all the poor gentlemen were on that side; but among the class of rich men, sprung from the middle or lower classes, nearly all were hostile to any change of system. Perhaps no subject connected with home discussions excited so acrimonious a feeling towards a change in a liberal direction among the officers of the army as this.

Early in April the conclusion of peace was known in the armies north and south of the Tchernaya. It is necessary to introduce our readers to other scenes, and to show how this peace was accomplished, before we re-conduct them to the armies in and around Sebastopol.

During 1856 to the period of the peace, nothing occurred at Kinburn to require notice. The French performed their dreary routine duties, troubled only by occasional rumours of attack, which was, however, impracticable. The enemy, meanwhile, continued to labour at the defences of Cherson and Nicolaieff, especially the latter, which they made very strong.

At Kertch, the Turkish contingent, under General Vivian, preserved their position. Very little information was given by the general to his government, probably because he had very little to communicate. When the winter was breaking the following letter was written by an officer of the contingent, and gives a more correct, and, at the same time, lively picture of events there and in the neighbourhood than we have elsewhere met with:—"The ice having at length broken, on account of the prevalent strong southerly winds, we are now enabled to continue our landing of stores, and the transport fleet in the bay are obliged (much to their dissatisfaction) to have recourse to their boats and lighters once more, after having amused themselves for the past month in discharging their cargoes daily on the ice. We all hail with delight this change in the weather, for between the various daily reports of an expected attack from the Russians in our rear, and the channel frozen over to the Taman side in our front (almost sufficient to allow the crossing of an immense army), our situation has been anything but comfortable, and, with the exception of our transport skippers, who rejoice in anything like demurrage, especially in government employ, everything seems in high glee. We have received almost daily for the past month accounts from Tartar spies that a large body of the Russian army are intrenching themselves at Argin—the place where the 10th Hussars and Chasseurs d'Afrique had a skirmish with the Cossacks in September last. From this we

can draw two inferences—either that an attack is meditated on this place, or that, the navigation of the Sea of Azoff being now rendered impracticable by our gun-boats, the Russians are availing themselves of the 'tongue of Arabat' in forwarding their supplies into the Crimea. The latter suggestion is thought the most probable, for since the Kinburn affair the enemy will prepare themselves for the loss of Perekop, and, having determined to 'make hay while the sun shines,' are thus taking advantage of the inclemency of the season. In the meantime, should their object be an attack upon us, they will find that General Vivian has not been idle, and, with the limited means at his disposal, has rendered this place, in a military point of view, perfectly capable of resisting an attack of an army of 30,000 men. The only obstacle heretofore has been a want of siege-guns to put into position, which deficiency has been in a measure attended to by the commander-in-chief before Sebastopol and the seraskier at Constantinople, the latter having sent up some beautiful long 32-pounder brass pieces from the foundry at Tophané. The Turkish soldiers, as you are aware, have the reputation of being the most capable in the world at throwing up earthworks and digging intrenchments; and certainly, in this instance, they deserve a great deal of praise, for, under the able guidance of Major Stokes, the commanding engineer officer of the contingent, they have completed works which might well be shown as examples to other nations. Fort Paul is now a second Malakoff, and, should necessity oblige us to evacuate Kertch and fall back upon that place, we could well defy the whole Russian army to effect a dislodgment. On the 6th instant (the Russian Christmas) the Cossacks paid us a visit, and approached in large numbers (supposed 5000) to within four or five miles of this place. The alarm guns having been fired, every man was at his post with wonderful alacrity, the batteries of artillery taking up their respective positions in the town and on the Yenikale and Fort Paul roads. Her majesty's gun-boat *Weser*, although frozen in hard and fast in the ice, was prepared for action, being in a position to command the Yenikale Road, and by the elevation of her great guns, to throw shot and shell far beyond the town in the direction of Arabat. Should the services of this vessel not have been required in either of these points, Lieutenant Ross had already volunteered to place himself and his crew under the general's orders, and work the batteries if required. The Land Transport Corps were on the alert, and prepared to convey ammunition to the different magazines, and the commissariat turned out a large force of Tartar labourers, armed with axes, &c., to prevent the firing of any of the govern-

ment stores, which had been well filled with provisions previous to the setting in of the ice. Our cavalry having been ordered out, under the command of Major McDonald, the Cossacks fell back, but in the evening returned and burnt the Spanish farm, about six miles distant, from which the contingent had been receiving large supplies of forage. The health of the contingent has been excellent, and Brigadier Holmes, the commandant at Kertch, with his able assistant, Dr. Gunn, leaves no means untried in regulating the sanitary condition of the town; in fact, everything has been done to guard against disease which might be brought on through negligence in not removing the filth which naturally collects in a place of this kind. With the exception of the land transport, which requires increasing, since 8000 more men have been added to the contingent force, every department is in thorough order; and the commissariat at the present moment have four months' provisions in advance, already landed and stored. No exertions have been spared on the part of Commissary-general Adams to provide everything in his power for the comfort of the contingent; and considering the late season of the year before it was determined where should be its field of opera-

tion, as well as the difficulty in making contracts, I consider the commissariat has accomplished wonders. Two companies of the 71st regiment are in Kertch, and the remainder, under command of Colonel Ready, are at Yenikale. Part of a company of the Royal Artillery, under the acting command of Lieutenant Woolfe, are at Fort St. Paul. These, with the 4th regiment d'Infantry de Marine, divisions of the Chasseurs d'Afrique, and 10th Hussars, and about 16,000 of the contingent, constitute the force under General Vivian's command, and who occupy the posts of Kertch, Yenikale, and Fort St. Paul. At Yenikale I am informed that the men of the 71st regiment have established a capital theatre, and perform one day each week before a well-filled house. With the exception of an occasional *soirée* at one another's barracks, I think the Turks are without amusement; but, being naturally a very steady race of men, they are contented by sitting at their own firesides nightly, and listening to the recital of oriental tales. They all appear well contented with the discipline, &c., established by the English officers who command them, and their wants being supplied in food, pay, and clothing, they have no cause of complaint."

CHAPTER CXX.

TURKEY FROM THE FALL OF SOUTHERN SEBASTOPOL UNTIL THE TREATY OF PEACE.

"It is to be feared that the next time we go to war on account of Turkey it will be for the spoils."

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. F. WILLIAMS, BART.

IN a previous chapter the effect produced by the fall of Sebastopol upon the Mohammedan and Christian races of the Turkish empire, and especially at Constantinople, was described. For a long time after that event the Greeks caused uneasiness by the malevolent spirit they evinced towards the allies, and their sympathy with Russia. Their grief and rage were boundless when they heard of the allied successes in the Sea of Azoff following rapidly upon the capture of Sebastopol. These feelings were increased by the taking of Kinburn; and as the cavalry skirmishes and reconnaissances in the neighbourhoods of Kertch and Eupatoria were exaggerated by the Turkish press into grand battles, in which the Russians were defeated with great slaughter, the Greek mind had constant food for its regrets and exasperation. So vehement was the defence of the Russian cause by Greeks of respectability in steamboats, cafés, and bazaars, and so outrageous their insults of the allies, especially to the French, that the *gens d'arms* established by the latter at Constantinople made numerous arrests, and the sultan's government took such steps as led these persons to apprehend the

penalty of treason. This policy imperfectly served as a warning, for fanaticism mastered all other influences in the Greek mind. The Turkish government behaved with the greatest decency and tolerance throughout this agitation.

The state of the Christian communities, and their relations with the Turks mutually, were constant sources of irritation and weakness to the allies; for Russia found a pretext for assuming a superior moral position in the struggle as the friend of Christianity, and the defender of persecuted races, whereas her only motives for interfering in Turkish affairs were bigotry, avarice of territory, and ambition of conquest: unless it be allowed that certain Russian statesmen and the Russian court really regarded the dismemberment of Turkey as inevitable, and taking "time by the forelock"—and Turkey also—resolved to secure the largest portion of the prey. That events will ultimately necessitate the dismemberment of the Turkish empire we have little doubt; and that such an opinion forces itself upon the mind of the remarkable man from whose words the motto for this chapter is selected, the motto itself sufficiently indicates. The state of Turkey at this

junecture justified these apprehensions, and furnished Russia with a plausible argument to excuse her doings. The conduct of the Christian populations subject to Turkey, and of the Christian allies of Turkey, was not calculated to soften the asperity of the Turks to either. When British officers and visitors urged the wisdom of a more tolerant policy, the reply was, "Behold, O great English lord, this war arose from a quarrel between one sect of Christians and another, and Greeks and Armenians are only prevented by the followers of Islam from cutting one another's throats." When the toleration practised by the allies was referred to as an example for Turkey to follow, intelligent Turks pointed to the jealousy which France and Austria evinced to English and American missionaries, and with still more force reminded the English of the persecutions carried on by the chaplains at Scutari against the Scripture-readers sent out by voluntary communities in England to assist in ministering consolation to the sick. A writer from Scutari pithily remarked—"Christianity, in her several aspects, at present is doing harm—deep, deadly harm—to the mind of the Turk; he cannot recognise her as of God." Still, in commerce and general intelligence, the traitorous Christian subjects of the Porte were increasing in influence and power; while in every department the Turks were declining,—even in the military art; for, notwithstanding the heroism of the Turkish soldier when well led, the Turkish government seldom intrusted the care of its troops to able or skilful men, nor amongst native officers were these to be often obtained. "The fiery valour of Khaled" was often to be found in the armies of Turkey among the common soldiers—seldom or never among their leaders, and the spirit of the caliphs had departed from her palaces. Almost all her successful officers were foreigners; those who were not, received their education in foreign lands. Englishmen planned and executed nearly all her arsenals and docks; English, French, and Germans trained her armies; and officers of the first-named power disciplined her navy. Still she effected to despise the Giaour, even as she hated him. When the people of Turkey heard that France and England had become allies, and that fleets and armies were to be sent by these powers to the sultan's aid, their impression was that these resources were to be placed at the sultan's absolute disposal—that he would, in fact, command the auxiliary forces of the West. Great was their disgust when they found it otherwise; indignation and rage were added to that feeling when they found that the allies were perfectly masters of their own movements. But when, at last, they found these armed hosts interfering in the policy of Tur-

key, and, above all, in its domestic policy, and with bold language, a strong will, and even a high hand, blank astonishment and despair took possession of the Turkish mind. Every fresh concession as to his treatment of his own subjects, wrung, by what the Turks regarded as an armed diplomacy, from the sultan, was received as a new omen of the decline of the state. Every statute which the allies insisted upon as necessary to the regeneration of Turkey, the Turks themselves considered the harbinger of her ruin. They wished nothing changed but their weakness; they desired accumulation of strength to repel the Russians, and to work their will upon the Christian populations of the sultan's empire.

The treaty with Greece, forced upon the sultan by the Western powers, did not work well; its effects were not at first seen; but at the time of which we now write it was generally regarded as injurious to the welfare and even to the security of Turkey. The right of the rayahs to assert an acquired Hellenic nationality against the authority of the Turkish courts was certainly pernicious, notwithstanding the modifications and restrictions by which that privilege was restrained. According to the general relations of Turkey with other powers, the privilege of consular trial existed, which removed the subjects of foreign nations, resident in Turkey, from the caprices, fanaticism, prejudices against Giaours, and inequitable maxims, prevailing in Turkish courts. According to the Greek treaty, Greece was to be put on a level with the most highly-favoured nations, and therefore the right above specified belonged to her subjects. It had, however, been the practice of the Greek subjects of the Porte to cross the frontier, reside a certain time in Greece, adopt an Hellenic nationality, and then return to Turkey, claiming all the immunities of foreigners; so that within the sultan's dominions vast numbers of his subjects were thus throwing off their allegiance to him, and adopting allegiance to another sovereign that notoriously sought to revolutionise the sultan's dominions, and extend his own at their cost. The King of Greece impudently sought to continue this right; and a clause to that effect was originally inserted in the treaty, but struck out at the remonstrance of Turkey. Nevertheless, the vast numbers of the sultan's subjects who had adopted Greek nationality previous to the treaty, and obviously with purposes hostile to the sultan's government, were allowed to continue their claims to this immunity, leaving, as it proved, an element of disunion and disorder in the country. The treaty in no respect did justice to Turkey; it was an illustration of the time-serving, trimming policy of the allies; they desired to cover Greece in her wrong-doing, and, upon promise

of repentance, allow her to escape all the penalties of her faithlessness and animosity to the allied cause. There were reasons for this which were satisfactory to France and Austria, but could not give satisfaction to England, and did not give redress to Turkey. There were men among the Greeks, natives of Turkey, who, when assured of the fall of Sebastopol, and the series of successes gained by the allies after that event, perceived that no hope of religious ascendancy, or even of religious immunity of any kind, could be promoted by Russia, and foreseeing a peace disadvantageous to Russian influence in Turkey, politically assumed a fear of Russian ascendancy at Constantinople as more dangerous to the pure Greek rite and to Greek nationality than the rule of the sultan; but there were none who disguised their greater apprehension of religious disadvantage from the ascendancy of French and Austrian counsels at the Porte in favour of the Latin Church, and the ascendancy of England in favour of Protestantism and religious liberty.

The Armenians sympathised with these Greeks. What this section of Greeks professed, the Armenians generally and sincerely thought. They were adverse to a Russian conquest, which would coerce them to the Greek rite, but preferred that to the abject subjection which Turkey imposed upon them, and to the ascendancy in any degree of Mohammedanism; but they were very willing to coquette with the czar, to act as Russian agents for Russian gold, and, by an ostensible friendship, obtain for their patriarchs and prelates, through the Muscovite embassy, titles and honours. At first the hopes of the Armenians turned much to America, but the American influence was not exercised with an astute policy, nor their services to the Armenian people gratefully appreciated. The following singularly interesting letter on the state of the Armenians was written from Scutari, and accords in most respects with the opinions which are here expressed:—"Twenty minutes' ride out of the Asiatic portion of the metropolis of Turkey opens to view an immense waste of hills, mountains, flats, and ravines nearly desolate; a large flock of sheep and goats may be met with, or a herd of cattle picking out what growth of itself; or in yon ravine is a small village of Turks, and in another more distant a larger village of Armenians; all look rude and uncultivated, in a natural state, except here and there a spot exposed, for want of fencing, in the most fertile valleys; and these spots are green, with corn springing out of the earth, that was but half-mowed, of late, by a rude plough, and trodden nearly all over by the pair of hard-shinned oxen that drew that simple instrument: yet everything is full of interest to the intelligent Christian as he rides freely,

and inhales the soft air that breathes upon this fertile but rude country. Many sweet, lowly, and lovely flowers spring and bloom unnoticed among the contemptible scrub and heath, that are all stunted and crippled till they spread, fixed in the fertile soil, only to defy the growth of articles more suited to the comfort of man for support and pleasure, when light has been diffused to raise the fragrance of cultivated plants, and to cut up and consume the vile and give to the useful the genial rays of sunshine, or the shade of fruit and timber trees, where all before was desolation. The historical memorials of this land are exceedingly interesting; but, above all other people here, the Armenians are, as a nation, most interesting for their remote antiquity; yet, like the sweet, lowly, lonely, and lovely flower upon the heath-down, they are now spreading their influence unostentatiously. When Abraham wandered in Padan-Aram, or Mesopotamia, he found there an hospitable people; and, excepting the single despot, Cushman Risbathaim, we read of no Armenians who made war for the extension of their dominion. At a later period the two regicides who slew the blasphemous despot in the house of Nimrod, found an independent monarchy and an asylum in the land of Armenia. This people retain the same disposition as their hospitable forefathers. They have no soldiers nor sailors; but they are distinct from the Turks and the Greeks by language, by customs, and by many lovely traits of character. It is not necessary to speak of generosity after the old style in Britain, especially in writing of a people long trodden down, and suffering extortion and oppression, with persecution that may have induced an avaricious spirit under a state of compulsory ignorance; but it is worthy of our admiration that we find them kind-hearted, especially to the '*Ingiliz*,' polite, intelligent, industrious, and entertaining. Very little attention to their very fair, and smooth, and intelligent faces will enable the stranger to pick them out from the Turks and Greeks, who are inferior to them in these things; and the only danger of a mistake would be in meeting with a Jew amongst them, for many of the Jews resemble them here in the fair smooth skin and high straight forehead,—the foreheads of the Greeks and Turks being more inclined, and the Armenians and Israelites, being unquestionably descendants of Shem, and both alike are very distinct from the others. The Assyrians, as a people, against whom the Armenians had to contend for the independence of their nation and country, are now unknown and extinct, but the latter are everywhere found, as a people who are looking out for Scripture light from Britain, and animated with patriotic feelings for the prosperity of their nation.

They are without a king, as a people, and at the same time they have a very high regard for the sultan as loyal subjects. They have national administration allowed in some points; their priests exercise the power of a magistrate; and though these priests exercise that power to persecute, they would rather endure it for a time, in hope of reformation, than suffer the contention of foreign sects to break the harmony of their existence as a nation. These priests have hitherto maintained a jealous regard for the customs of antiquity, as conservatives, so far as to retain the formalities of heathen times as to dresses, chanting, decorating the altar, bowings, prostrations, &c., in their worship professedly as Christians. But there are many who hope for a change, and with good reason, for the priests are paid by the people, as by families, each family choosing its priest; hence, as the light gets diffused, the priests must improve also, or they will not be sustained. Here we may also state a fact in proof. An English doctor has recently had much intercourse with these people, and the result is, even the priests begin to preach from the Scriptures as they never were known to do before. Several influential laymen amongst them are, by the same influence, beginning to spread the Gospel from house to house, and within a few days it is expected they will have a Sunday-school opened. It is with much grief of heart we have to say these people are out of confidence with the Americans. They say—‘Some of our own people that have been educated preach Christ, but the Americans preach theology, and make disputes about questions, which will make us divided, and we do not like such things. If some English will come and give medicine to the sick, they can instruct us, and we can do for ourselves. We do not like the Roman Catholics, and we do not want different sects amongst us. Give us Bibles and Bible-teachers, who can heal the sick, and who love our nation.’ From the Turks we have met with ignorant haughtiness and stolid barbarity; from the Greeks, coarseness, perfidy, fraud, and drunkenness; but from the Armenians, gentleness, sincerity, and kindness; from all we find just the same things we had understood before from history. In conversation they are free and easy; in their habits, the most cleanly of orientals that have come under our own personal observation. They are highly delighted to entertain an English *hekim* (doctor), who can speak to them of Christ, and all the wisdom of the ‘*Ingiliz*.’ While being amongst them we have given every facility to the diffusion of the Gospel, not sparing expense, though unable to labour much personally in this way, not having leisure, hoping it will find more support from friends in England,

where the matter is better known, as we hope to make it known shortly, in various ways, more at large.” We know of no description of the general spirit and condition of the Armenian population of Turkey, as compared with Greek and Turk, which presents so faithful a picture. At the same time it must not be forgotten that in the north of Asiatic Turkey, along the Russian frontiers, the Armenian people have been corrupted by Russian gold, and deceived by the czar’s promises, and, in consequence, are not loyal to the sultan, but rather hope for the advance of Muscovite conquest, in the expectation that it will give them freedom from Mohammedan persecution.

Thus matters stood between the Porte and people of Turkey, when, before the close of 1855, Austria with great earnestness pressed renewed negotiations upon all the belligerents. As soon as France and England perceived that a new peace conference was likely to ensue, they worked to disarm Russia, if possible, of her strong weapon of moral contest—the condition of the Christian population of the Turkish dominions. A good deal had been done, and, as the reader saw in the chapters on the defence of Kars, the effect produced upon the Christian sects of Asiatic Turkey was considerable. But much more remained to be done if Russia, in a new conference, were to be deprived of her specious pretext for interference. Accordingly, the ambassadors of the allies and of Austria pressed such concessions upon the sultan, as would leave little to be discussed on the “fourth point” in any new conference. The ministers of the allies having drawn up a note, representing their desires for reform and concession, presented it to the Sublime Porte on the 22nd of January. The first point insisted upon in this document was the recognition of equality among all subjects of the sultan, irrespective of creed, and the protection alike of the persons and property of all, as a consequence of that recognition. It referred to the position of foreigners in the Turkish dominions, as to their legal incapacity to hold real property. The second point treated of the maladministration of justice in the Turkish courts. As the prejudices of the Mussulman judges were not likely to give way, separate courts for Mohammedans and Christians were proposed, when the prosecutor and defendant were of the same creed. Mixed courts were suggested for mixed cases. The right of Christian testimony in all courts was demanded. This was a great difficulty; for the Greeks had so little probity or veracity in their dealings with Turks, that the latter were not likely to place the smallest reliance upon their evidence. The third point referred to police. A great many suggestions were offered concerning internal improvement, commerce, and

other matters, which seemed very inappropriate in such a document. A lecture was read to the sultan and his government which, had it come from Russia, all Western Europe would have resounded with the outcry of our politicians and diplomatists. In fact, there was scarcely a subject connected with the management of the internal affairs of the sultan's empire in which, in a tone of demand, some suggestions were not presented. The fourth point referred to the army. The document recorded that the loyalty of all classes should be relied upon for armed support to the sultan's throne. The sultan and his government knew well that the Christians of his empire would evade enlistment and conscription if they could, unless they had some political object in view adverse to his rule, for which they would probably arm. The last point demanded a repeal of the law prohibiting Christians from filling civil and military offices.

With these concessions, it was evident that Mohammedan ascendancy was gone for ever. Neither in race nor religion could the Turks possess any distinctive power. The races and religionists in whose favour these concessions were sought could not be conciliated, except the Armenians, who had no taste for arms. The Greeks would never be satisfied with anything short of the ascendancy of the Greek name and race, religion and language, alike above Turk and Armenian.

When the Turkish cabinet received this astounding series of proposals, it returned them to the ambassadors, and begged them to reconsider demands so sweeping, and so likely to humble the sultan's sovereign power. The ambassadors admitted the reasonableness of this request, and modified the proposals, but vaguely and indefinitely, preferring to leave their ulterior shape to the result of personal conferences.

The Christians did not receive these proposals as favourably as their patrons expected, or as favourably as did the Turkish government. The payment of a tax for exemption from military service would be abolished upon the new plan, whereas the Christians, having no ambition to be drawn in the conscription, would prefer the tax. The light in which the Greeks chose to take it at last was a demand for the abolition of the conscription tax, originally substituted for a conscription, and to consider themselves entitled to exemption from both. Thus did they turn every effort made in their behalf into a grievance, except it came from Russia, as of like faith with themselves, and unless it tended to subvert the sultan's power, and exalt their own ambition on its ruin.

After much discussion, and close urgency on the part of the ambassadors, their large demands were in the main conceded. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was resolved to follow up

this success promptly, and with a boldness that startled all. He invited the sultan to a fancy ball! The sultan, according to Mussulman ideas, is the representative, and in a certain sense the successor, of the Prophet. He is above all kings, and must recognise no equal. His presence should be guarded from all approach, unless admission be vouchsafed as the greatest favour. To go as a guest to the house of an ambassador—to see ladies expose themselves in the familiarities of the fashionable dances, from which so many of their sex shrink with disgust in their own countries—was horrible to Turkish notions of the sacredness of their sultan. Whatever surprise the offer of such an invitation from the chief of the Giaour lords might cause, the sultan's acceptance of it caused much more. The wisest Turks shook their heads sadly, and stroked their beards, saying that "Allah was great, but Turkey was fallen;" they murmured like the prophet in his plaintive song, "God hath shown his people hard things; he has made us to drink the wine of astonishment."

On the 31st of January, Pera was filled with multitudes of persons in the highest excitement, hurrying to every point of view from which the great wonder of the visit of the great padishaw to the great Giaour might be viewed. Not only was the sultan to be there, but all the dignitaries of his capital and government were to be there to receive him. The approaches to the palace were guarded by British Guards and Highlanders, some detachments of both being then at Constantinople. This circumstance increased the pomp, and the strange associations of the scene. There stood the red infidels, with their gigantic statures and plumed hats, in all the pride of power, as if every man felt that a greater victory was gained over the East that day than had been gained for the East when the tricolour of France floated above the Malakoff. The band of the first battalion of the German Legion performed various airs. At eight o'clock at night a signal-fire blazed on the heights above the imperial palace of Tcheregan, and on the instant the booming of cannon from Galata Serai proclaimed that the sultan had left his palace. Before nine o'clock he arrived at the embassy, the troops presented arms, and the band struck up the "Sultan's March" and "God save the Queen." Lord Stratford received his majesty at the foot of the great staircase. The guests had assembled in the ball-room. A throne had been prepared for him, upon which he took his seat, the representatives of foreign powers standing at one side, and the dignitaries of his own empire at the other. The ladies of foreign ambassadors, and other distinguished foreigners, were presented to him. After such ceremonials as were in-

tended to mark the homage of the company for the sovereign of the country in whose capital they were assembled, dancing began. It was the first time his imperial majesty had witnessed the dances of Northern and Western Europe, and the expressions of his countenance were of surprise, alternating with disapproval. He stood up to observe the forms and evolutions of the dances, and only once seated himself during the hour he remained. At the termination of that period he ordered his attendants to show him to the refreshment-room. His majesty is extremely enervated by his mode of life, and is unable to bear any fatigue, much less practise any manly exercise. He intended to return to the ball-room, but found his strength insufficient. On his withdrawal, he took Lord Stratford's hand—a departure from custom, as only the pashas of highest dignity are allowed to touch the sultan, and then only his feet.

The French, ever emulous, were desirous to see an equal honour paid to the French ambassador, who addressed an invitation to his majesty of a similar nature to that of Lord Stratford. It was accepted. M. Thouvenel seemed determined to improve upon his English diplomatic cousin, for very splendid preparations were made for the sultan's reception. The palace of the embassy was brilliantly illuminated, and on the sultan's arrival, Bengal lights burst forth, showing the sultan the grandeur of the scene through which he was passing. The pyrotechnic displays of M. Thouvenel surpassed anything in the way of exterior preparation made by Lord Stratford. In the interior of the embassy there was the usual fault of all French official receptions—the affair was too military. There was a chasteness and massive grandeur in the interior preparations of the palace of the British embassy which were in better taste than the dazzling brightness and extreme military pomp of the French embassy. Zouaves, cuirassiers, dragoons, and Chasseurs d'Afrique were crowded in the palace, wherever a soldier could be placed with any supposed propriety. The general effect of all this military display was exaggerated, and exceedingly out of keeping.

The sultan seemed to have learned his lesson by his visit to the English embassy. He bore himself with more dignity, and on beholding a portrait of the Emperor Napoleon, he turned to the ambassador, and said, "I am happy to behold the features of my august and faithful ally. I experience the most lively satisfaction at being *his* guest to-day." His majesty was more splendidly attired for this ambassadorial visit than the former—his apparel was resplendent with jewels. He was also more lively and self-possessed. The arrangements were altogether more showy and less tasteful

than at the English embassy. The usual happy aptitude for receptions in good taste, at all events where no temptation to pompous military parade exists, seemed to have forsaken the French on this occasion. Nothing could surpass the grace and ease of the sultan, who won the regard of all the guests of the evening.

Such were the doings of the Turkish capital while negotiations were going on with great activity in the other European courts, and while the belligerent armies were confronting one another, and preparing to stain the flowery fields of the Crimea with carnage, when spring should set them free for action.

On the 18th of February Constantinople passed from the tradition of centuries to a new phase of political existence. On that day the promulgation of the vast concessions acceded to all the races and religions in the Turkish empire, constituted a new era in the Moslem history. The day was cold and wet—one of those cold, miserable days so peculiar to that city, when winter begins to soften into the first indications of spring. Never before did the capital of successive empires witness such crowds congregated together. The Turkish soldiers exerted themselves with exemplary patience and energy, especially the sultan's guards, to keep the line; but such was the throng, that their efforts were inadequate. It was an occasion of grief to Abdul-Medjid; one of his daughters was buried that day, and the ceremonial of her funeral retarded the proclamation of the political concessions some hours. From the funeral rites of his child he proceeded to bury the ascendancy of his race and creed. What emotions must that day have passed through the heart of the lord of a thousand races and tribes, and the head of a people, the strangest and most romantic in its history which the world ever witnessed, except the children of Israel. All day the multitudes of every creed and race, which are represented by the motley inhabitants of Constantinople, stood beneath the drizzling rain, bitten by the piercing cold. At three o'clock the chief of the chancellerie of the grand-vizier read the firman. The Sheik-ul-Islam offered a prayer, it was believed, much against his will. The grand-vizier delivered an address. Copies of the firman and of the grand-vizier's speech were distributed among the excited multitude, and the firman was ordered to be translated into all the languages of the empire, and sent into every province. The pageant dissolved, and the people dispersed.

Few who knew Turkey believed in the sincerity of the chief actors in this drama: sultan, vizier, sheik, and the multitudinous crowd of officials concerned, intended the firman to be a dead letter—and a dead letter it remained, except as the importunities and threats of the embassies compelled some semblance of conformity

to its provisions. Although one of the most important political documents of the age, it is not necessary to insert it entire. It was addressed to the grand-vizier, and contained certain preliminary declarations customary to the formalities of Turkish state papers. Our readers will perceive that it is drawn up with consummate ability, disguising in generalities of language the force of the concessions made. For instance, the fact that the testimony of Christians should in future be admissible is conveyed, not by an express declaration in plain terms, but by an implication, which, however, necessarily involves the fact. Thus, in reference to the proceedings of the mixed courts, it orders that all the witnesses shall take an oath according to the forms binding in his religion.

Copy of the Firman of the Sultan, granting civil and religious equality to all his Subjects.

"By the efforts of my subjects and those of my allies, the external relations of my government have acquired a new force, and I wish now likewise to augment its strength in the interior, and to make all my subjects happy, for, united as they are by their common sacrifices and their patriotism, they are all equal in my eyes; my will is therefore that the following points be rigorously enforced:—

"I confirm all the assurances given by the Hatti Scheriff of Gulhané, as to the security of the lives, the property, and honour of all classes of my subjects, without distinction of rank or religion, and I will that these assurances be minutely observed.

"All the privileges and immunities which have been given to the Christian and other communities which are under my sceptre are again confirmed. A revision will be effected without delay of the privileges, and improvements made according to the spirit of the age and the actual state of society, and with my sovereign sanction. The councils which will be expressly established at the patriarch's, under the inspection of the Sublime Porte, will have to discuss these improvements and submit them to my government. The power given to the patriarchs by Mohammed the Conqueror and my other glorious ancestors will be combined with this new position created for them by me, and when the mode of election of the patriarch will have been ameliorated, the patriarch will be named by diploma for life.

"According to a method devised by the Sublime Porte, the patriarch, and the chiefs of the Christian and other communities, the patriarchs, archbishops, vicaries, bishops, and rabbis, will have to take an oath of allegiance.

"All contributions and casual profits levied by the clergy from the communities are forbidden. Fixed revenues will be assigned to the patriarchs, archbishops, vicaries, and bishops,

and a sufficient salary apportioned to the lower clergy, according to their rank and functions. The movable and immovable goods of the clergy will not be touched.

"A council chosen by the clergy and laity of the Christian and other communities will be intrusted with the direction of the national affairs of the community.

"No objection will be made to repairing the churches, schools, hospitals, and cemeteries in the different towns, villages, and hamlets according to the primitive design which may still exist. If it becomes necessary to erect new ones, and the patriarchs or the chiefs of the communities approve it, the plan will be submitted to the Sublime Porte, in order that I may give my sovereign approbation for its erection, or else that the objections to which it is open might be made against it.

"If in some places there is a community quite isolated—that is to say, without people belonging to another religion—such a community may celebrate publicly its religious ceremonies. But in the places inhabited by people belonging to different religions each may in its own quarter, adapting itself to the above-named principle, repair its proper churches, schools, hospitals, and cemeteries.

"As to building a new edifice, the patriarch and synod will demand the permission of the Sublime Porte, which will be accorded, if there are no internal political considerations which prevent it. But whatever is done in these matters should be always done in a spirit of charity and tolerance. Energetic measures will be taken to insure the freest possible exercise of every religion. All epithets and distinctions which could tend to show a difference between one class of my subjects, as the lower, and another as the higher one, are for ever abolished from all the documents of my imperial chancery. It is likewise strictly forbidden to officials and private individuals to use offensive and dishonouring terms, and the offenders will be punished.

"As all religions can be exercised freely, no one will be molested on account of his religion, and no one forced to change his religion. As the choice of those employed depends on my imperial will, all my subjects will be received for offices according to the existing regulations, and according to their capacities, and if they satisfy the conditions demanded by the regulations of the imperial schools—namely, if they are of the proper age, and pass the prescribed examinations—they will be admitted likewise into the military offices. Besides, each community is free to erect schools for arts and sciences. Only the studies followed there and the choice of teachers will be subject to the inspection of a mixed commission named by the Sublime Porte.

"All commercial and criminal causes between the members of two different religious communities will be subject to a mixed court, whose sittings will be public. The accuser and accused will be confronted there, and the witnesses will take the oath, according to their religion, to tell the truth. Civil causes in the provinces and sandjaks will be examined in the mixed courts, in the presence of the vali and the cadi. The sittings will be likewise public. Causes between two of the same community, or those relating to successions, will, according to the wish of the parties, be brought before the patriarchs or the medjlids. A commercial and criminal code, as well as regulations respecting the proceedings of the mixed courts, will be as soon as possible completed, and published after being translated into all the languages in my empire.

"In order to combine humanity with justice, the state of the prisons and other places of detention will be ameliorated, and regulations made as to the detention of those condemned for smaller crimes. With the exception of the police regulations of the Sublime Porte in this respect, all ill-treatment and corporal punishment or torture are completely abolished, and whoever should dare to inflict them will be severely punished. The police in Constantinople, as well as in the provinces, must be so established as to protect most efficiently life and property.

"As equality of taxation will be introduced, it will be justice that the Christian and other subjects should furnish, as well as the Mussulmans, their contingent of troops; they must therefore submit to the decision which has been lately taken in this respect. But in these questions the system will be followed to give an equivalent in money—that is, to give money, and be thereby exempt from active service.

"Regulations will be made shortly for employing all the subjects in the ranks of the army, independently of the Mussulmans, and when made these regulations will be published.

"The medjlis will be reformed in the provinces, in order to place the election of Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans on a good footing, and to insure the free and true manifestation of opinion; and energetic measures will be taken that the Sublime Porte may know the result of these opinions, and on which side the right is.

"As in commercial affairs, and as regards the possession of landed property, the laws are equal for all my subjects; when the Sublime Porte shall have made an arrangement with the foreign powers, to the effect that foreigners should submit in this respect to the laws of the country, and pay imposts at the same rate as the natives, the right to possess landed property will be conceded to foreigners.

"As the taxes are levied equally on all subjects, one must think of the means to prevent the abuses in the collection of these taxes, especially of the tithes, and to establish, as far as it is possible, a direct system of collection, instead of the system of farming the revenue now pursued. In the meantime, any public functionary who should let such revenues at a public auction, or even take a share in it, will be severely punished. The local taxes must, as much as possible, be distributed so as not to do harm to the production and to the development of commerce. Imposts will be levied in the provinces for generally useful purposes, which will be applied for the benefit of those provinces, which will have the advantage of the roads for their communication inland and their connection with the sea.

"As the Sublime Porte has lately made a budget of its revenues and expenses, this budget must be followed up and developed. The pay of each public functionary ought to be fixed. An *employé* will be appointed for every Christian and other community, in order to take care of the affairs which concern the generality of my subjects, and to assist at the state council. These *employés* are expressly taken from the ministry of the grand vizier; they are named for a year, and have to take an oath before they enter on their functions.

"The members of the state council will be free to manifest their opinions in the ordinary and extraordinary sittings, and will not be molested for that. The laws against corruption will be executed against all my subjects without distinction, and to whatever class or rank they may belong.

"The Sublime Porte will do her best to establish a good system of credit, and favour all things tending to raise it, as, for instance, a bank, for which the necessary capital will be procured.

"The Sublime Porte will construct roads and canals for the transport of produce, and will give facilities for the extension of agriculture by removing all impediments."

The remainder of this state document consists in formalities, such as ordering the Sodr Azam to see that the imperial will should be executed.

The masses of the Turkish people became exasperated against all infidels by this proclamation of liberty, and incendiary fires frequently lit up the horizon during the remainder of February and throughout the month of March. These symptoms of discontent did not cease until the treaty of peace directed men's minds into another channel of excitement, and the people, besides, began to hope that when the fleets and armies of the allies departed, public affairs would flow again

in the old channel, and Christians throughout the empire might be abused and beaten with impunity, as before. The influence of the ambassadors of the allies was used with increasing earnestness to modify the prejudices, and correct the abuses and corruption, of the Turkish government. The contest was a sharp one; the friends of the old order of things maintained a ceaseless struggle, and they constituted a majority everywhere, except that among the lower orders and the common soldiery there was a strong desire to see corrupt officialism overthrown. The following letter gives a faithful picture of the state of things which followed the events already recorded in this chapter. The attention of the reader is especially called to a consideration of its statements. It was written from Constantinople, by one conversant with the hopes and dangers by which the Turkish empire was agitated:—

“Any one who wants to give a correct picture of Turkish affairs in these times of crisis, transition, and confusion, has to use so much dark colouring, that he seizes with pleasure every opportunity to throw in a little light, and thus to relieve the dreary *chiaro-oscuro* of the picture. The darkest spot in this dark picture is the official world at Stamboul, and just in this darkest spot I wish to point out a ray of light. It is the council of state. Like all other branches of Turkish bureaucracy, the council of state was modelled after its namesakes in continental Europe, its original destination being that of a legislative and controlling body, to which, moreover, the highest criminal jurisdiction was added. Since the institution of the Council of the Tanzimat, the legislative functions of the council of state have been transferred to the former, and the council of state has only retained its other duties. It watches over the execution of the existing laws; it is consulted about the introduction of new ones; it exercises a species of control over the acts of the government in general, and over those of the *employés* in particular; it appoints the governor-generals of the provinces, and gives them their instructions, and hears the complaints of the population against the *employés*. The judicial functions of the council of state are double. First, it acts as the highest court of appeal in all criminal cases, and no sentence of death can be executed unless on the special order of the sultan, which is given on the report of the council of state. Besides this general criminal jurisdiction, the council of state inquires into and judges all the crimes committed against the state, and all the abuses perpetrated by public functionaries. It would have been too much to expect that in the midst of a system of corruption this branch of the government should alone remain uncontaminated, especially as during the last

few years the members of the council of state were augmented just in the same ratio and in the same manner as those of the other public officers, so that any ministry who may be in office can with certainty calculate in most cases on a majority in its favour. But there is in the council of state a small phalanx which has kept its independence, and which tries to fulfil the object for which this body has been instituted, without caring for the pleasure or displeasure of any ministry. This small phalanx is the only sign of a systematic opposition to the abuses and corruption in the administration of the country. I don't mean to insinuate that there are not single men in other branches of the government, and others out of office, who deeply deplore the state to which Turkey has been reduced in consequence of the dishonesty of government officials, but, being isolated, their voice is not audible, and their efforts are without any great result; whereas the union of this minority in the state council and the more independent position of the members act, in many instances, as a check on the government. At the head of this minority is Ahmed Vefik Effendi, the late ambassador in Persia. He is one of the few Turks who have reaped all the advantages of a European education without losing their national character. The usual case is that young men sent to Europe bring back a superficial knowledge of European ideas, and neglect to study their own country. They cease thus to be Turks without becoming Europeans. Early employed in prominent situations, Ahmed Vefik Effendi has attracted the attention of all parties who were anxious to secure his co-operation, and he would long ago have been promoted to the highest posts of the state, had he not been too high-minded to consent to compromise between his convictions and his interests. His probity is such that his worst enemies—and he has many, as you may imagine—never dared to question it. Besides, he gave a proof of it unexampled in Turkish official history. Not yet thirty he was sent, during the Russian occupation of the principalities in 1849, as commissioner to those countries, in order to remedy the confusion in which they had been left by his predecessor. He succeeded most completely in his mission. At the end of it he was offered the customary present which every Turkish commissioner sent to the principalities had received from immemorial times, and which amounted to several hundred thousand piastres, and he refused it, because he was in principle against presents being given to public officials. Under the guidance of this man the minority of the state council follows up its arduous task of fighting, like a forlorn hope, against the system of corruption. On the political ground they have, indeed, always

to yield, overpowered by the majority; but in their judicial sphere they are more successful, and it is due to them that a good number of dishonest officials are dismissed or condemned to the galleys every year. Unfortunately here their power ceases, and the dismissed official afterwards gets a better place, and the condemned one is sent for a year or two to some pleasant exile, from which he soon returns and obtains new honours. In spite of this discouraging result of their exertions, and the difficulties which are laid in their way whenever people in power have an interest to shield the person accused, they persevere. These latter difficulties are by no means inconsiderable, for the very order for an inquiry must be given by the government, which thus has it, up to a certain point, in its power to put an end to every inquiry which might lead to disagreeable revelations. The line which the minority has, therefore, to adopt, is to begin its inquiries with small officials, and to find out a link which connects the corrupt practices of these with those of their superiors, and thus to arrive by degrees at the great criminals. In this way, for instance, a slight arithmetical error of a small *employé* in the commissariat of the army of Erzerum is in a fair way of being brought back to the chief of the department who starved the army of Kars and Erzerum. You may depend that when those who have their reasons for not wishing such disclosures on a grand scale see that the inquiry assumes such a serious character they resort to all kinds of means to stop them. The usual way is to find some fault in the formalities—as, for instance, in a case which is just under consideration. The law strictly forbids every *employé* to interest himself in any way in the farming of the revenues; this law has been, besides, expressly confirmed in the late *hatti humayoun*. But, in spite of this law, not a few of the high officials have secretly, and under false names, shares in these undertakings, which become doubly ruinous for the poor peasant if they are in the hands of officials. There is now strong evidence that the first secretary of the council of state is one of these offenders; but when the inquiry was to be instituted against him the objection was raised that the secretary, belonging to the council of state, could not be judged by the judicial committee of the latter, but that the case should be referred to a special commission, which, from its probable composition, would be equivalent to an acquittal in advance. If the case is too serious to admit of such objections, other means are tried—such as influencing the members, and even at times more than that, but in most instances in vain.”

Among those officers who rendered services to Turkey, and to the allied cause, although not upon any of the fields of conflict, was General Storks. He was in command of the English forces at Constantinople, who were in reserve of the army; and he was most useful in bringing the troops there into a high state of discipline and of military efficiency in every respect. This was to be expected of the gallant general, who was a true soldier, thoroughly animated by that fine military spirit which is so essential to the superior officer. On the 15th of March the general ordered out the German Legion for a field day. He had carefully inspected, and also publicly reviewed, the separate battalions as they landed. The weather favoured this object; it was one of the loveliest of spring days, and a lovely spring day at Constantinople is not to be surpassed anywhere in the world. The ground selected for the manœuvres showed good generalship. Above Scutari a ridge of hill lies parallel to the Bosphorus as far as the “Valley of the Sweet Waters.” From this ridge lower ones branch out at both sides at various angles, and are intersected by ravines, which break up the ground in ways the most diverse. The cultivation of the neighbourhood was also very various, so that the troops had both obstacles and advantages at the same time for manœuvring. At one moment a wall stopped their way; then a ravine must be crossed, or it offered cover to the sharpshooters; then a plateau afforded scope for formation in an unbroken line. General Storks had, therefore, a fine opportunity for exercising his troops to advantage, and displaying his own abilities as a general. The result was satisfactory to all who were capable of judging, and very high commendations were passed upon the general by military men of all the allied nations. There was a good muster of troops—light infantry regiments, a body of rifles, and a detachment of sappers and miners. Other reviews followed this; and General Storks showed his capacity in the field as well as in the administrative department.

Such was the condition of Turkey, and such the occupations of our soldiers in its neighbourhood, while the allied armies in the Crimea were either consigned to forced inaction by the climate, or reposing from the struggles of war under the arrangements of the great suspension of arms which preceded the treaty of peace. During all this time the diplomatists were engaged with ceaseless energy to bring about that desirable issue. A separate chapter will reveal the history of that diplomacy.

CHAPTER CXXI.

DIPLOMACY FROM THE AUSTRIAN ULTIMATUM TO THE OPENING OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE.

“Qui dit Russe dit homme sans foi.”—NAPOLEON I.

IN a previous chapter the diplomacy of the war was recorded to the close of 1855. Some of the most important diplomatic transactions were, however, omitted, because they more properly belonged to the series of transactions, which, in 1856, ripened to a peace.

Towards the close of the former year Austria became nervously anxious about the continuance of the struggle; France talked of marching an army into Poland by Germany; England had replenished and increased her army in the Crimea, and was making gigantic exertions for a naval conflict in the Baltic, which, if successful, would increase her influence in the Scandinavian States and Northern Germany; Sardinia was increasing in importance and influence with the allies, and whispers and suggestions crept through Europe that the allies would and ought to reward Sardinia, by giving her increase of territory, and an ascendancy in Italy. All these reports indicated the wishes which, with a majority of enlightened men, prevailed in the more powerful European countries opposed to Russia, and caused Austria to seek with intense earnestness a readjustment of her own situation to the general balance, by at last playing a more conspicuous part. She accordingly ascertained through her ministers at London and Paris the minimum of demands which would be made by the allies upon the enemy, and upon that basis Austria proposed a peace, declaring that these proposals must be regarded in the light of an ultimatum. Whether, after all, Austria would have joined the allies in arms is not so certain; most politicians in Western Europe believed that the time had at last come when she was prepared to do so, and that she saw any further procrastination would destroy her own influence in Europe. Early in December the Austrian court resolved to send Count Esterhazy upon a special mission to St. Petersburg as the bearer of the ultimatum. As soon as Prince Gortschakoff (brother to the military chief of that name in the Crimea) discovered the intention of the Austrian cabinet, he of course communicated with his government, which, perceiving that matters were approaching to a crisis in the field of diplomacy as well as of arms, decreed it inexpedient to allow a disposition for peace to appear in any way dependent upon an Austrian ultimatum, and therefore directed Prince Gortschakoff to make proposals to the Austrian cabinet. The prince proposed the entire neutralisation of the Black Sea; that all ships of war should be excluded

from it except Russian and Turkish; and that they should determine between them their relative maritime strength. The impudence of this proposal might well astonish even the cabinet of Vienna; it would have enabled Russia to command the Black Sea, and menace the Bosphorus at pleasure with her fleets. It is true that at first there would be apparently safe stipulations as to the number of ships each power should have afloat on these waters, but little by little Russia would make pretext, after her fashion, to encroach upon the terms of the stipulations so far as they bound herself, and she would be protected in so doing by such a stringent treaty from the armed interference of any of the other European powers. Austria had already proposed to France and England a more effective arrangement for the neutralisation of the Euxine, the arrangement substantially which was ultimately adopted; but she made this the sole basis of a treaty of peace (so it was alleged by those who professed to be cognizant of the initiatory proceedings of the Austrian cabinet). The allies, however, added the other terms; Count Walewski was the first to do so, but Lord Clarendon revised the conditions of the French minister, and made them more binding and more clear. The vexation of Prince Gortschakoff was betrayed openly; and the day before Count Esterhazy quitted Vienna, Count Buol made the prince acquainted with the fixed determination of the allies to exact their demands in full, and of Austria to back those demands. The Austrian government was very reluctant to press upon that of Russia terms so severe, and went so far as to inform the Western cabinets that it would be useless to press such haughty proposals upon the czar. Finding, however, the allies firm, Austria adopted their resolutions.

The mission of Count Esterhazy to St. Petersburg was very significant, from the well-known sympathies of the count's family, who were generally regarded as the warm advocates of an Austrian alliance with the West. It was an Esterhazy who was selected to receive Marshal Berthier when he came as the especial envoy of Napoleon I. to demand the hand of Maria Louisa. Prince Paul Esterhazy married a niece of Charlotte, wife of George III. of England.

The Austrian cabinet urged the other states of Germany to support her efforts at St. Petersburg. Some favourable response was made to these demands. The court of Berlin un-

doubtedly urged upon the czar the acceptance of the Austrian mediation, but did so believing, and expressing the belief, that in the course of the negotiations "something would turn up to the advantage of Russia." The state of the public mind in Prussia at that juncture may be clearly perceived by the following letter, written by a person well-informed in Prussian politics:—"I can, moreover, inform you that the ministers of the king, as well as his majesty himself, have just renewed their efforts at the court of Russia, and their language is this time characterised by much firmness, and I have every reason to believe that the czar will be touched by it. Our statesmen declare loudly that the war has been provoked by Russia without legitimate motives, and the chances of war having been against him, there is a double reason for him to withdraw from it honourably. They add that Prussia will not abandon the system of neutrality she has adopted irrevocably, even though she saw the number of the enemies of Russia increase. No one here now doubts that Sweden will enter actively into the Western alliance; it is even admitted as certain that Austria has promised efficacious assistance to the allies in the event of the czar rejecting the overtures of Count Esterhazy. Public opinion hourly increases against Russia, and this reaction is all the more painful to her, as her influence over the German press is a mystery to no one. The papers that enjoy her patronage have for some months past felt its inconvenience. The middle class shows a decided preference for the independent press. Although peace be ardently desired, yet few believe in it, and many conjectures are formed as to the next campaign. We can foresee an invasion by the allies of the Russian territory of the Baltic, and which will be combined with a diversion on the Danube. The troops of the Crimea will be conducted to the mouths of that river, and combine their operations with the 150,000 men that Austria can put in line. The probable results of that double attack, which, they say, will be executed in the month of May, are discussed with much interest, and the general opinion is that it will be decisive."

The interest taken in these movements by other German states was very great, especially in connection with the stipulation for giving freedom to the commerce and navigation of the Danube. Accordingly M. Seebach, minister at Paris from the court of Saxony, obtained an especial mission to the czar in favour of peace, as it was known that the czar had an old friendship for the minister. There can be little doubt that without any exertions by the Saxon diplomatist his majesty's mind had been brought into a condition favourable for peace, if not, at that moment, of determination to make

peace. M. Seebach had been the personal friend of Nicholas, as well as the participant in the respect, confidence, and esteem of Alexander. On his arrival at the Russian capital he was at once favoured with an audience by the czar, who, on seeing him, exclaimed, "What grave events have passed since we last saw each other!" He then embraced the minister, spoke of his deceased father with tearful emotion, and then, as if suddenly recollecting their respective positions, he gravely observed, "But we are here to speak of most serious matters. Ah! you are not come to weaken me." Conversation on the posture of Russia and her sovereign to the other nations and sovereigns of Europe then ensued. M. Seebach urged the necessity to Russia of a speedy peace, and the good policy of the emperor at such a moment taking the steps necessary to procure it. The emperor entered freely into the envoy's ideas, but observed, "My *noblesse* are not prepared to bow the head. I do not deceive you upon the gravity of events in the Crimea, nor upon the possible results of an attack in the Baltic; but believe me, whatever may be the situation, and whatever may be likely to arrive, it is much more difficult for me at this moment to make peace than to continue the war. I encounter in deciding for war ten times less resistance among my *noblesse* and my people."

On the departure of Count Esterhazy for the capital of the czar the Austrian foreign minister addressed to him the following despatch, dated the 16th of December:—

"The words which your excellency has had the honour to hear from the mouth of the emperor himself, our august master, must have convinced you anew of the intentions which have invariably guided the policy of his majesty in the different phases of the struggle which weighs so heavily upon Europe. Always faithful to those same principles, the emperor would have deemed it a deficiency on his part towards his own people, and towards Europe, to let the present moment pass, when a superior Power bids a truce to the combatants, without attempting a supreme effort to open new paths to a peace, which presents itself as the most urgent want of Europe.

"Convinced, on the one hand, of the so often reiterated declarations of the Emperor Alexander of his readiness to lend his hand to any peace that would not infringe upon his dignity, or upon the honour of his country, his imperial majesty felt himself called upon to employ his best efforts to assure himself of the degree of reciprocity that those dispositions might meet with at the courts of France and Great Britain. His majesty, therefore, deigned to charge me to sound the cabinets of Paris and

London on the subject. Although we found them imbued with the firm resolution not to lend themselves to the initiative of any overtures for peace, nevertheless, to our great satisfaction, we found such dispositions in those cabinets as to lead us to hope that they would not refuse to examine and accept conditions of a nature to offer all the guarantees of a permanent peace, and to come to a clear solution of the question which gave rise to the war.

"Nay, more: we think ourselves authorised to express the hope that those powers, while maintaining in full force the right of presenting such conditions of peace as they might deem suitable, would not the less be disposed to-day not to deviate from the principle established at the commencement of the struggle—not to seek any advantage to themselves, and to limit their pretensions to the sacrifices necessary to re-assure Europe against the return of so deplorable a complication.

"Encouraged by these indications, the imperial cabinet did not shrink from the task of making itself conscientiously acquainted with the situation of the moment, and to formulate a basis upon which, in its opinion, the edifice of a solid peace might rest. The four points already accepted by Russia appeared to us still to be the best ground to go upon. To assure the work of peace, however, and to avoid especially the reefs upon which the last conferences were shipwrecked, we deemed it indispensable to develop the four points (*principes*) in such guise as to make them conformable to the general interests of Europe, and to facilitate the final arrangement by a more precise definition.

"The fruit of that labour is in the annexed document, which, when accepted by the beligerent powers, will acquire the value of preliminaries of peace. The signing of these preliminaries would be immediately followed by a general armistice, and by final negotiations.

"This labour, having been honoured by the approbation of his majesty the emperor, you are charged, M. le Comte, to present it for acceptance to the court of Russia, and to urge it most pressingly to consider its contents, and to let us know its determination, to which we attach the highest importance, as soon as possible. If, as we hope, our propositions should be favourably received, we shall lose no time in warmly recommending their acceptance to the courts of Paris and London, expressing the confidence which animates us that they will not exercise the right of presenting eventually to the negotiations special conditions, except in a European interest, and in such measure as not to offer serious obstacles to the re-establishment of peace.

"We entreat the court of Russia to examine

calmly the propositions which we submit to it. We will not dwell upon the grave consequences which would ensue from a refusal to enter into the paths which we open a second time to effect an honourable reconciliation—a refusal which would entail upon itself the weight of an immense responsibility. We prefer leaving it to its wisdom to estimate all the chances.

"We think that we are in this instance the interpreter of the wishes and of the real wants of Europe. It remains for us to make an appeal to the elevated sentiments of the Emperor Alexander, whose supreme determination will decide the fate of so many thousands of existences.

"His imperial majesty will take, we entertain the confident hope, that decision which appears to us alone of a nature to respond to the real interests of his people, and to the wants of humanity."

The Austrian proposals referred to in the above despatch were these:—

"I. *The Danubian Principalities*.—Complete abolition of the Russian protectorate. The Danubian principalities shall receive an organisation conformed to their wishes, their necessities, and their interests; and this new organisation, respecting which the population itself shall be consulted, shall be recognised by the contracting powers, and sanctioned by the sultan as emanating from his sovereign initiative. No state shall have power, under any pretext whatsoever, under any form of protectorate, to intermeddle in questions of the internal administration of the principalities. The latter will adopt a definite permanent system, called for by their geographical position, and no obstacle shall be interposed to prevent them from fortifying their territory for their own security, as they think fit, against all foreign aggression.

"In exchange for the fortified positions and territory occupied by the allied armies, Russia consents to a rectification of her frontiers with European Turkey. The frontier will leave the environs of Chotym [in Bessarabia], follow the line of the heights stretching in a south-east direction, and terminate at Lake Salyzk. The line of this rectification shall be definitively regulated by general treaty, and the conceded territory shall return to the principalities and the suzerainty of the Porte.

"II. *The Danube*.—The freedom of the Danube, and of the mouths of the river, shall be efficaciously assured by the institutions of European international law, in which the contracting powers shall be equally represented; excepting the particular positions of owners of the soil on the banks, which will be regulated upon the principles established respecting river navigation by the treaty of the congress of

Vienna. Each of the contracting powers shall have the right to station one or two light vessels at the mouths of the river, in order to insure the observance of the regulations relative to the freedom of the Danube.

“III. *Neutralisation of the Black Sea.*—This sea shall be opened to merchant vessels, closed to ships of war, consequently naval arsenals will neither be created nor preserved. The protection of the commercial and maritime interests of all nations shall be assured in the respective ports in the Black Sea by the establishment of institutions conformed to international law and ancient usages in this matter. The two coast-bordered powers mutually engage to keep up only the number of light vessels, of a stipulated strength, necessary for the coasting service. This convention, concluded separately between the two powers, shall form a part of the general treaty as an annex after having been approved of by the contracting parties. This separate convention shall neither be annulled nor modified without the assent of the subscribers to the general treaty. The closing of the Straits shall admit an exception in favour of the stationary vessels mentioned in the preceding article.

“IV. *Christian Subjects of the Porte.*—The immunities of the Rayah subjects of the Porte will be established without injury to the independence or the dignity of the sultan's crown. As deliberations are taking place between Austria, France, Great Britain, and the Sublime Porte, in order to assure the Christian subjects of the sultan their religious and political rights, Russia shall be invited, on the conclusion of peace, to associate herself with them.

“V. The belligerent powers reserve the right which belongs to them to produce, in the interest of Europe, some special conditions besides the four guarantees.”

While these transactions were passing between Austria and Russia, and between Austria and the Western powers, enough was divulged to excite the most extensive discussions amongst the public and the professed politicians of all Europe. The general impression everywhere was—except, perhaps, in Russia and Prussia—that peace could not be procured by negotiation—that the sword must settle the terms in another year of havoc. There was, however, a considerable number of eminent persons beyond the official circles, both in France and England, who believed that peace was at hand.

The St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Constitutionnel* afforded to Western Europe an insight to the state of parties, struggles, intrigues, and rumours which the peace propositions of Austria had excited throughout the Muscovite empire:—“I now hasten to com-

municate to you that rumours of peace have taken within the last few days a greater consistency, and nothing else is spoken of in our political circles. Evidently, if we were to content ourselves with consulting public opinion, and following its aspirations, peace would speedily be an accomplished fact, if the conditions were only honourable; but opinion is not always listened to, for it has its rivals, and interested counsels first take possession of the ears of princes. The eternal struggle between the old Russian party and the German one has ramifications over the whole country—amongst the citizens and people as in the nobility; it divides the court, and even the imperial family. The passions are excited to such a pitch, that in some places almost public manifestations are made in favour of a peace, and in others the war is sanctified, when either the continuation of war is demanded, or nothing else is spoken of than an invasion of France or England.”

The writer thus depicted the efforts of “the old Russian party” to inflame the passions of the people, and sustain the public demand for war. On no previous occasion of contest did the czar employ the public press as an instrument of his ambition; but it was a curious fact throughout this war that while the government of free England neglected the press, and the Aberdeen cabinet affected to despise it, the autocrat expended large sums in subsidising it. Much of the pro-Russian feeling on the Continent was attributable to this circumstance, which also had its influence upon the higher walks of British society. “The intimate relations existing between the editors of the *Abeille du Nord* and the favourite of Alexander II., General Rostowzoff, as well as the police directors Orloff and Otchakoff, are evident proofs that half of the men in power in Russia have permission to add fuel to the war by every available means. Messrs. Gretsche and Bulgarine, editors of that semi-official journal, publish daily violent articles against the Western powers, and do not even spare Austria, whose neutrality they blame. Who is the principal agent, the creator of the *Nord*? M. Nicholas Gretsche, who succeeded in Brussels when he failed in Berlin. Who edits the principal articles of that Russian organ? The *attachés* at the Foreign-office of St. Petersburg. It is M. de Moltzoff who reads, approves, or rejects them; from him they are received by the Russian ambassador at Brussels, Count Michel Kreptowitsch, who modifies them according to circumstances. The editorship of the *Nord*, and of the *Abeille du Nord*, is characterised by too much violence in order to represent any other party than that of the old one. Its editors once asserted that the people were wrong to complain of the hardships of

war, and that the privations they suffered proceeded from the inordinate luxury to which they were given. The luxury of the Russian people! when it is of public notoriety that in no part of the world has luxury made less progress than in Russia amongst the middling and lower classes of society. These are, however, the sentiments which inspire the organs of the dominant party in Russia. Against this language has Count Nesselrode struggled in vain, for General Rostowzoff and Counts Orloff and Otechakoff, strong in their influence with the emperor, have treated him in a manner anything but deferential. Unfortunately, the German party, which desires peace with sincerity, and is composed of politicians of eminence, has been drawn from beyond its ordinary prudence, in order not to be accused of reaction. It has affected, like its rival, warlike tendencies, and its voice was heard in the assembly of the nobles, which met before the journeys of the imperial court, when the marshal of the nobility, Potemkin, exclaimed in full sitting, that 'an honourable peace suffices not for Russia; that the descendants of the Czar Peter cannot desert the mission they have received from above, nor sacrifice with a light heart their influence in Europe, as long as there remains to the Muscovite people a rouble, an army, and the orthodox faith.'

The struggle between the parties attached to the emperor, and to his fitful and furious brother Constantine, and the characters of the men themselves, especially as influencing the negotiations for peace, were thus described by the same writer:—"The goodness and courtesy of the emperor are generally recognised; the secret of the obstinacy he displays is to be attributed to the influence possessed over him by those who surround his person. The clergy have likewise a great ascendancy over his mind, for Alexander II. is very pious, and sincerely believes in the infallibility of the ministers of the orthodox faith. The Grand-duke Constantine has often had violent altercations with his imperial brother, and has affected in several ceremonies not to place himself beside his sovereign, as likewise at reviews and in councils; he proclaimed through his creatures that 'he would have nothing in common with a Romanoff who cared so little for the honour of his name or for the dignity of his crown as to meditate a treaty with the Western powers.' It is believed here that the grand-duke has since made the *amende honorable*, but I place little credit in this statement, for the grand-duke is not a man to disown the worst decision he may have advanced."

The correctness of the opinions expressed in the correspondence of the *Constitutionnel* cannot be doubted, for subsequent events proved it; in fact, the partisans of peace at the court of

Russia were the empress and the queen-dowager of the Netherlands. The emperor himself became gradually more alive to their representations, and those of his minister, Count Nesselrode. Immediately after the Austrian ultimatum was presented, the following was published in the *Austrian Gazette*, an official organ, which reflected the views and feelings of the Austrian government with exactness:—"The most important step, and the only one which could bring about peace, has been taken. The deliberation on the means of re-establishing of peace, provided for by Article V. of the treaty of the 2nd of December, has made considerable progress. Austria will, no doubt, cause her voice to be heard in such a manner that we may expect it to be listened to. The simple circumstance that Austria has charged Count Esterhazy to transmit her last word to Russia is sufficient to prove that she is seriously determined that peace shall be re-established, and even by force if necessary. Count Esterhazy remained inaccessible to the attentions by which at St. Petersburg it is the fashion to influence the agents of foreign states. He was as calm and immovable in presence of menaces as of flattery. His position at the court of Russia became at last so difficult, that he was obliged to solicit leave of absence. When this same man is charged with a mission, of which the importance occupies all Europe, we must naturally conclude that the desire is that it shall be carried on with energy. The public journals say that what Count Esterhazy conveys to St. Petersburg is an ultimatum, but everything depends on what is meant by that word. That, however, what Austria offers to Russia are her last conditions, is not doubtful to us; and if these conditions be not accepted, the ambassador of Austria will return, and diplomatic relations will be interrupted. The conditions themselves are based on the *statu quo*, and have in view the interests of Europe. The positions which Russia has lost are to be restored to her. Although the coasts of the Crimea, with few exceptions, are no longer in her hands, and her adversaries occupy the mouths of the Dnieper and all the sea, no territorial sacrifices will be imposed on her; the Baltic is left open to her vessels of every kind, and the Black Sea to her commercial ones; she is only asked to give up a war fleet in the Black Sea, and to open all the ports of that sea to foreign consuls; but she is not called on to raze her fortified places. In all that there is nothing which can degrade the military honour of Russia. The Russian fleet has, it is true, compromised its own renown, for it has never dared to meet the enemy, and has been destroyed without glory by the Russians themselves. Will Russia accept the conditions now offered? Will Aus-

tria force her to accept them? The first is hoped for, and the second looked for. Hitherto Austria has not been obliged, by the treaty of the 2nd of December, to cause the conditions of peace to be accepted by force; and in the present season a menace would be contrary to common sense, for Russia cannot be attacked now. But the sword of Damocles remains suspended over her head. Although Russia has thus far not shown in any way that she is disposed to accept the conditions of peace definitively drawn up, it is, nevertheless, hoped that the step which Austria has taken will have the effect of causing her to do so, and it is also hoped that Germany will not remain inactive."

On the 14th of January the Austrian government received the reply of the Russian Foreign-office to the overtures of Count Esterhazy. That nobleman, when presenting the ultimatum, intimated that he was not empowered to discuss it—that the answer must be an unqualified acceptance or refusal; and that, unless by the 8th of January he received a definite answer, he must, according to the orders of his government, leave St. Petersburg. In order to evade this stringent mode of action, and defer an ultimate decision, in the hope of inducing better terms, the answer was not given to Count Esterhazy directly, but transmitted to Vienna. In her reply Russia professed to accept "the points" in principle, but required certain modifications. The document was, in fact, a refusal, but of such a nature as to be tentative of the firmness of Austria and the persistence of the allies in their demands. The following is the document addressed by Count Nesselrode to Prince Gortschakoff:—

"Since his return to St. Petersburg, the envoy of Austria has hastened to communicate to me the despatch addressed to him by Count Buol, dated the 16th of December, and a copy of which I have the honour to subjoin. In delivering this communication, Count Esterhazy had handed me at the same time a document containing the indication of some principles which, according to the cabinet of Vienna, would acquire by the fact of the acceptance of the belligerent powers the value of preliminaries of peace, and once signed, might be followed by an armistice and definite negotiations. I have not failed to submit these documents to our august master the emperor. His imperial majesty has been pleased to examine them with the sincere desire to equitably solve the question which keeps Europe under arms, and covers it with mourning. He hesitates the less to lend the hand to the efforts by which the Emperor of Austria seeks to prove his attachment to the work of peace, from the fact that very recently, consulting only the

interests of his peoples and his sentiments of humanity, he did not hesitate to spontaneously anticipate the specific desires of Europe. Encouraged, like the cabinet of Vienna, by signs that the negotiations might be resumed upon the basis of the four points as they had been formulated in the conferences of Vienna, his majesty the emperor adopted a resolution which he believed calculated to give a clear solution to that one of the four points which caused the rupture of the conferences of Vienna. By this resolution the imperial cabinet completed the guarantees necessary to a durable and effective (*serieuse*) peace, and completely assured Europe against the return of the existing deplorable complications. He then hoped that the cabinet of Vienna, to which he hastened to communicate this resolution, would use it to simplify the preliminary questions intended to precede the definite negotiations. This hope has not been completely realised. The emperor, our august master, has seen this with regret; however, he wishes to give a new proof of his pacific intentions by entering into the path which the Austrian cabinet has believed it its duty to open to a reconciliation. After having maturely weighed the communications which have been made to it, and after having sought to harmonise them with the necessities of the situation of the moment, the imperial cabinet hastens to make known its determination to your excellency, while inviting you to bring it without delay to the knowledge of the Austrian government. We beg the court of Vienna to well convince itself that the considerations which we are about to develop are inspired by the sincere desire to avoid the rocks upon which the last conferences split. We have nothing more at heart than to see our observations received in the sentiment of equity which dictated them, and a concurrence with us to bring about the desired end. Before entering into the examination of the details of the document of the cabinet of Vienna, we have two general observations to make; the one relates to the contents of the fifth point. In reading it, we asked ourselves if on a principle so vaguely conceived, and which opens the door to a negotiation altogether new, even in case a complete agreement was made upon the four points, the hopes of peace could be realised? M. le Ministre of Foreign affairs has, it is true, anticipated this apprehension, in stating in his despatch, 'that he will not delay to express to the courts of Paris and London the confidence which animates him, that they will not use the right of presenting special conditions, but in a European interest, and in such a manner as not to offer serious obstacles to the re-establishment of peace.'

"These assurances, however, are themselves

not precise enough to destroy our objections in circumstances so grave as those in which Europe is now placed. The uncertainty which the reserve in question inspires cannot have but a vexatious influence in depriving the preliminaries, even when accepted and signed, of the character of definite stipulations. It is, then, in the well-understood interest of peace that we insist upon the striking out of the fifth clause, and this so much more that the European interest, which it seems to have in view, uselessly complicates a question already thorny, and belonging by its nature to the decision, not of the parties engaged in the actual contest only, but to that of the European congress, sole arbitrator of existing transactions. The cabinet of Vienna will doubtless know how to appreciate these considerations, and give them effect in the interest of peace with the allies. The second general objection which the *ensemble* of the document of the Austrian cabinet presents is, that—contrary to the original idea which was dominant in the programme of the four points, and which was to establish the political system of the East upon the basis of a perfect parity between the two frontier powers—the principles laid down by the Austrian cabinet demand material guarantees from Russia only, and require none of the Ottoman Porte. Is it not to be feared, in thus multiplying the obligations which fall upon one of the parties, germs of future complications will, contrary to the end which we have in view, be created? This is a question which we leave to the impartial mediation of the cabinet of Vienna, and to its long experience in Eastern affairs. Nevertheless, in raising the general objections against the predominating idea of the document which has been presented to us, we neither wish to prejudice it nor bespeak a reserve, nor to evade the discussion of details. Our determinations are taken. We record them here, in examining successively the different articles of the Austrian document.

“The first article does not excite in its first four paragraphs any objection, but the imperial cabinet is not able to adopt the fifth paragraph. While admitting as applicable to the existing situation of the belligerent parties that the evacuation of the strong places occupied by the allies upon the Russian soil can be effected by means of an exchange of territories with Russia, we cannot accept the mode in which it is proposed to carry out this exchange. The important territorial concession demanded, under the title of ‘Rectification of the Frontier,’ appears to be so much the less justified from the fact that Russia has in its hands a territory and a conquered fortress in Turkey, which, by their position and importance, are calculated to serve as the subjects of exchange; consequently, we have entirely suppressed the paragraph in

question, and have substituted for it another, conceived in the sense indicated above. At the same time a final agreement upon this subject might be reserved to the plenipotentiaries intrusted with the definitive negotiation. The second article, relating to the Danube, has not occasioned any objection; the imperial cabinet is ready to concur in the development of the principles there enunciated—in fact, the second article only reproduces in substance the proposition laid down in advance by the imperial cabinet, and which your excellency was charged to communicate to the Austrian government. We adopt it, and are willing that the convention agreed to, to this effect, between Russia and the Porte be previously approved of by the signing powers. As to the rest, we have introduced but two variations: the one has no other end than to render the reading (*redaction*) clearer, in order to avoid all misunderstanding; the other adds but a word which relates more especially to the means of surveillance, which are indispensable upon the eastern coasts of the Black Sea, in order to prevent the slave-trade, which we have, up to the present time, succeeded in repressing. As to the fourth point, the emperor only aspires to raise his voice in common with the other European powers in favour of his co-religionists, and to join in the deliberations which take place to assure to the Christian subjects of the sultan their religious and political rights. Such, my prince, is our mode of viewing the Austrian document. The *ensemble* of the considerations which we have developed will, I doubt not, convey the conviction that our reply, far from amounting to a refusal, is a frank and sincere essay to enter into the path which Austria believes is open to the re-establishment of peace. Further, we are pleased to think that if our pacific dispositions are shared by the allies, the variations which we have introduced into the ideas emitted by the cabinet of Vienna will essentially contribute to convert its preparatory document into practical preliminaries of a serious and efficacious peace.

“Whatever may happen, the imperial cabinet, after having thus conscientiously fulfilled its parts in the immense task which belongs to the powers engaged in the contest, will not have to recoil upon itself the responsibility of the grave consequences which would result from the failure of the work of peace. It repels it beforehand, with all the energy which the consciousness of integrity imparts.”

The reader will observe, from a comparison of the demands made by Austria, and the concessions made by Russia, that the following were the points of difference:—In the former a rectification of frontier was included, so as to secure the navigation of the Danube from Rus-

sian interference, the allies giving in exchange for the territory to be ceded, and for Kars, the various conquered places held on the coasts of the Crimea and of Asia Minor. Russia declined to rectify her territory, but offered Kars in exchange for the various places on the Black Sea held by the allies. The Austrian note required that Russia would neither preserve her military arsenals on the Black Sea, nor create new ones; the Russian reply substituted the word "naval" for "military," and demanded the right to guard her coasts with vessels of war. The final requisition of Austria, that negotiations for peace should proceed upon such a basis as would reserve to the allies the right of producing in a European interest new especial conditions, was struck out in the note of acceptance; so that, in fact, Russia only accepted unconditionally two points out of the five,—the second and fourth,—and rejected one altogether. The Austrian government, willing to peddle with the negotiations if it could find an opportunity, instead of rejecting these overtures of the government of Russia, at once communicated them to London and Paris. The reply of the allies was that they would not treat at all, except upon the unconditional acceptance by Russia of the terms of the Austrian note. Still Count Buol was reluctant to push Russia too closely, and he extended the time for a final decision on the part of her government to the 18th. Russia submitted: the young emperor resolved to cast the die, and set himself against the powerful war party of his empire. Count Esterhazy received a formal acceptance of the conditions of peace which had been presented to the czar, and on the 19th his minister dispatched to the diplomatic agents of Russia in foreign countries a public circular, which was as follows:—

"Public opinion in Europe has been strongly excited by the intelligence that propositions of peace, concerted between the allied powers and Austria, had been transmitted to St. Petersburg through the intervention of the cabinet of Vienna. Already the imperial cabinet, upon its side, had made a step in the path of conciliation, by pointing out, in a despatch bearing date the 11th (23rd) of December, published in all the foreign journals, the sacrifices which it was prepared to make, with a view to the restoration of peace. This twofold proceeding proved the existence on either side of a desire to profit by the compulsory cessation imposed by the rigour of the season on the military operations, in order to respond to the unanimous wishes which were everywhere manifested in favour of a speedy peace.

"In the despatch cited above, the imperial government had taken for basis the four points of guarantee admitted by the conferences at

Vienna, and had proposed, with regard to the third point, which had alone led to the rupture of the conferences, a solution which differed rather in form than in substance from the one put forward at that epoch by the allied powers. The propositions transmitted to-day by the Austrian government speak of the same fundamental proposition—that is to say, the neutralisation of the Black Sea by a direct treaty between Russia and the Porte to regulate by common agreement the number of ships of war which each of the adjacent powers reserves the right of maintaining for the security of its coasts. They only differ appreciably from those contained in the despatch of the 11th (23rd) of December, by the proposal for rectifying the frontier between Moldavia and Bessarabia, in exchange for the places on the Russian territory in the actual occupation of the enemy.

"This is not the place to inquire if these propositions unite the conditions necessary for insuring the repose of the East, and the security of Europe rather than those of the Russian government. It is sufficient here to establish the point, that at last an agreement has been actually arrived at on many of the fundamental bases for peace. Due regard being had in this agreement to the wishes manifested by the whole of Europe, and to the existence of a coalition, the tendency of which was every day to assume larger proportions, and considering the sacrifices which a protraction of the war imposes upon Russia, the imperial government has deemed it its duty not to delay by accessary discussions a work, the success of which would respond to its heartfelt wishes. It has, in consequence, just given its adhesion to the propositions transmitted by the Austrian government as a project of preliminaries for negotiations for peace.

"By the energy of its attitude in the face of a formidable coalition, Russia has given a measure of the sacrifices which she is prepared to make to defend her honour and dignity; by this act of moderation the imperial government gives at the same time a new proof of its sincere desire to arrest the effusion of blood, to conclude a struggle so grievous to civilisation and humanity, and restore to Russia and to Europe the blessings of peace. It has a right to expect that the opinion of all civilised nations will appreciate the act."

A circumstance which was represented as most influencing the czar was alluded to on another page—the desire of the French emperor to reach Russia, by his armies, through Prussia and Poland. Shortly after the acceptance of the terms proposed by Austria, an article appeared in the *Débats* which scarcely would have been published in that journal if

without foundation. In it the assertion was boldly made that the French emperor—perceiving the hesitation of Russia, the willingness of Austria to allow time for discussion, the eagerness of Prussia to gain for her ally (for such Russia in fact was) more time and easier terms—had sent a communication to the Austrian emperor, and, through his minister, to other German powers, that he would no longer attack the czar's dominions at their maritime extremities only, but, believing them most vulnerable by way of Poland, he would, whatever enmities might be created, prosecute the war in that direction. Circumstantial details were entered into, having regard to the reconstruction of Poland as an independent kingdom, depriving Prussia of Posen without any indemnity, and indemnifying Austria by Moldavia and Wallachia, for which compensation should be made to Turkey. Austria would be required to give up Galicia. The *Débats* represented the alarm of the King of Prussia to have been so great, that he informed his imperial nephew that, unless he accepted the Austrian ultimatum, Prussia must, in self-preservation, join the anti-Muscovite alliance, thus making the five points a Prussian as well as an Austrian ultimatum. Some confirmation was given to the assertions of the *Débats* by the press of Berlin, which maintained that but for the interference of Prussia peace would not have ensued!

The announcement that Russia had at last succumbed was received with phlegmatic coldness in Turkey, except by the Greek population, whose countenances betrayed their grief as they listened in silence to the tidings. The plundered and miserable Danubian populations rejoiced that some prospect of an end to both Russian and Austrian pillage had at last arrived. The neutral nations received the intelligence with jubilee—Austria and Prussia seemed at last to breathe freely; but Sardinia was disappointed, for her interests, ambition, even her security, led her to desire that the complications of a protracted war would place her in a position of greater power in Italy. The English people were not pleased with the terms of peace proposed, and there was a desire to achieve something more to the glory of English arms in another campaign, and especially another naval campaign in the Baltic. In France the tidings of peace were received with the wildest joy, because the country was weary of the war, from its sacrifices in blood and treasure, and because the objects of the war were never popular. It was probable that its further prosecution might involve France in heavier sacrifices, and with less glory; while England, able from her full treasury to sustain a costly and protracted contest, and having brought her naval and military prepa-

rations to great perfection and force, was likely to achieve much glory. France had given occasion for the war by her policy; the emperor eagerly seized upon it as a means to establish his dynasty; but neither France nor the emperor had any objects to gain which they counted worthy of a continued struggle, which they felt to be exhausting. There is little doubt that but for the pertinacity of England, and the sagacity and foresight of Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon, the emperor, but still more France, would have proved too readily acquiescent in whatever terms Russia proposed. The emperor was loyal, however, to his ally, and was unwilling to forsake her, even although prosecuting the war with more tenacity and larger demands than he approved. The following letter, written at this juncture from Paris, although doubtful as to some of its facts, depicts truly the feelings and views which prevailed in the French cabinet, and among the French people:—"A very general impression prevails here that there are points of difference between the two governments, and that these differences become obstacles. In England you are all for war at any price. You are for war, it is said, because you fancy you have played a very secondary part in the contest hitherto, and you are determined upon a grand *revanche* to reconquer your compromised prestige and your damaged influence. For you, then, the war is no longer a question of general interest, but of exclusively national and British interests. In France, on the contrary, we desire peace. We desire it for several reasons. In the first place, as you know very well, the war has never been very popular with us, whatever may have been pretended. We have never understood its necessity or its importance, and since, as before the taking of Sebastopol, the results have appeared to us hardly equal to the sacrifice and to the cost. Now that the honour of our arms is safe, all the considerations drawn from the state of our finances, our food crisis, and our political and economical situation, have assumed a force and an intensity to which the government could not be insensible; indeed, the government itself is tired of the war, and, I believe, has lately had some explanations with your cabinet on the subject. The emperor is believed to have held to Lord Palmerston language of this kind:—"For my own part, I consider the objects of the war attained. I have done both for the principles engaged, and for the general interests, more than could have been demanded of France. If Russia accepts rational conditions, we must conclude; if you are for going further, I cannot undertake to follow you. France has no interest in crushing Russia, whom she considers still essential to the equilibrium of Europe. The

English alliance is not eternal, and, in case of eventual conflict, we might have need of Russia. If the cabinet of St. Petersburg will not yield, and if we must recommence the war, take Cronstadt, and occupy St. Petersburg—I am ready to march; but then for these new and heavier sacrifices I must have compensations; now these compensations are the Rhine and Belgium.' I simply report to you what is said here, and what seems at least probable. The fact is, that if the war must go on and spread, our government cannot afford to play the part of Don Quixote. To do so would be its ruin and confusion. The language ascribed to it in its recent communications with your government (and, I repeat, it has at least the air of probability), is generally approved; it is considered a natural resumption of the policy of the first empire. The old imperialists, the *vieux de la vieille*, and all the ardent partisans of the government, are enchanted; but as to the government itself, I am inclined to believe that it feels the want of peace, and would prefer it."

To account for this state of feeling among French statesmen, it is necessary to form clear views of the state of France at this juncture, and of her general relation to the other states of Europe. The impossibility of England *dragging* France along with her in the war must be plain to all persons who are acquainted with the influence of France upon the general policy of all European states, and even of her social condition upon the action of other states socially and politically. European countries, even somewhat remote in locality, were susceptible of this influence. The political condition of France in 1856 was full of portents. There were tokens which may never be realised, but which, nevertheless, demanded consideration—that the emperor would possibly have a struggle for his throne, unless, by foreign conquests entirely in French interests, he could satisfy the love of empire and of glory so prevalent in the French mind. Nor was he, in spite of the foresight and caution attributed to him, devoid of ambition. He accepted the English alliance as a great political necessity, but he was not generally supposed to be incapable of extending his empire at the expense of that power or in opposition to her policy. If civil war broke out in France, even although the emperor triumphed, there would be many insurrections in Europe; if the emperor should be dethroned, all continental Europe would be involved in one blaze of revolution; should the emperor engage in any aggressive war, whether successful or otherwise, revolution must attend its track. Most men saw in the state of Europe grounds for hoping that all would be peaceful for many years; but others desied danger, and believed that further and fierce conflict

was at hand. General Williams, in a speech at Portsmouth, after his return from the war, was thus reported:—"He begged of them not to lull themselves into a false security, for the complication of political parties in Europe might call on the army and navy in one, two, or three years to do what they had just done—to bring their country through a difficulty, and establish the peace of Europe. He had, on a former occasion (on landing at Dover), urged on the nation not to neglect the military art, and hoped they would always bear that advice in mind. Turning to the ladies' gallery, he said he would address a word to his fair countrywomen. He spoke, perhaps, to those who had lost friends and relatives in the war; he hoped that war would be sanctified to them, and that they who had still children to give would give them as freely as they had already given others of their children."

We do not mean to hold the general up for a prophet, although there is a sense, not pantheistical, in which great men have, as it were, a divine gift in their prescience of political changes. We are of opinion that no man of sagacity could look deeply into the state of France, and note the discontent of all the surrounding nations, without perceiving that France, at the period of the peace, was a loaded mine, central to many others, the exploding of which must fire all. The emperor professedly rested his government upon the *vox populi*, while a large portion of the population hated his rule, his dynasty, and his person, and the majority of the remainder accepted him on conditions which, the moment he ceased to fulfil, they ceased to regard him as their chief. As to the first class, there were both houses of the Bourbons and their adherents, who were numerous among the clergy and nobility; the true republicans, Cavaignac and Lamartine; and the red republicans of various gradations. All these were active, and working against him, and the *secret societies had never been extensively diffused*. The priests were getting up secret societies, with the connivance of the government, to counteract "the reds," but this was only preparing the people to use machinery which can be more readily used against the government than for it. As to the second class of the parties named (those who supported Napoleon), the smallest party was that which advocated a Napoleon dynasty. The people preferred that on the whole, but would support neither that nor any other which did not fulfil the conditions upon which they would consent to any royal or imperial *régime*. Thus the Paris shopkeepers, so powerful in politics, required a government that would make Paris brilliant, and enliven it with strangers. They found, by experience, that royalty was more likely to drain the provinces for the good of the

capital than republicanism, and they would vote for it so long as the imperial court would expend on an imperial scale. But the general country murmured at the imperial extravagance, and thereby checked the expenditure which made the Paris shopkeepers loyal. The small proprietors and bourgeois in the provinces worshipped Napoleon as the god of order. If he ceased to protect them from the socialists, they would accept whoever could afford them protection. The cis-montane Catholics believed that he was less likely to allow the Jesuits the ascendancy than the Bourbons would be, and that the Jesuits had less chance with him in obtaining the control of the state than they would in a republic, where they might possibly influence the elections in the confessional. The ultra-montane party accepted him because he had never been connected with the cis-montanes, and because his great uncle found it politic to support the church; and they fancied that even if not directed by their party, it had more to gain from an ambitious Napoleon than from a tame-spirited Bourbon, naturally concessive to the European powers, whose alliance he would seek for the safety of his throne. Even the Protestants consented to a Napoleon dynasty, because religious liberty was promised to them. It was next to impossible that he would not, in some years, offend more than one of these great interests, and if so, the balance of the suffrage would be against him, and he would, for a time, be dependent on the army. But the army in France is gradually influenced by the people; each new conscription brings in a fresh supply of popular feeling, and the army would speedily follow the majority of the nation. Thus the chance of the emperor remaining on the throne for many years appeared to many to be small, unless he made vast concessions to the popular desires, and reigned practically as a constitutional prince, depriving the secret societies of material to work upon. Should the emperor proceed in the course he had adopted, the secret societies would ultimately comprise the fighting population of the country, and a grand outburst, far surpassing in magnitude any previously witnessed, would

ensue. Should that take place, the question remained, what were the elements of revolution existing in other countries of continental Europe? It was generally believed that such elements existed throughout both peninsulas, and in Germany, from Berlin to Vienna. An outbreak in France appeared to many but a question of time, and as not admitting of a long time for the solution, and "after that the deluge." Such were the impressions of many French statesmen; and all who upheld the Napoleon interest, and felt alarm at socialism and anarchy, desired the emperor to unite himself with the conservative and strong governments of Europe, and lean upon his army and the sympathy of kings and courts for the permanence of his dynasty. To this end an established concord with the European potentates was deemed his best policy, and to this end Russia must not be too severely pressed—on the contrary, peace should be so brought about as to make liberal England appear the sole enemy of Russia, while imperial France sought her amity, and Napoleon personally created a lasting ground of gratitude in the mind of the young czar. Such motives urged France to a hasty peace, and in reality weakened the ultimate power and influence of the emperor, and increased that of his powerful ally, who was as much feared as loved, but who, while many of his own subjects derided him as an emperor by *la grace du coup d'état*, recognised him with prompt cordiality, and welcomed him to the walls of her ancestors with honour.

Such were the feelings and speculations which the sudden acceptance of the Austrian propositions by Russia awakened in Europe; and thus various were the interests and policies of the allies, affording hope to Russia that if Germany gave her aid, she might, in the peace arrangements about to be made, gain some concessions, outwit the Western powers, or enlist the sympathies of France so as to isolate England, and therefore baffle her purposes, and render her obstinacy futile. The proceedings which were involved in the conclusion of a treaty of peace, and the treaty itself, must be reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER CXXII.

PARIS CONFERENCE.—TREATY OF PEACE.

"A proper title of a peace, and purchased
At a superfluous rate."

SHAKSPEARE. *Henry VIII.*

IMMEDIATELY upon the acceptance by Russia of the terms proposed to her by Austria, the former demanded the signing of a protocol at Vienna, to certify formally the acquiescence of the contracting governments, and a declaration

that within three weeks the representatives of the various powers concerned should meet at Paris to complete the work of peace. Russia also intimated her desire that the conferences at Paris should commence sooner than three weeks,

if possible. Accordingly, in the *Moniteur* (the organ of the French government) of the 2nd of February, the following official announcement was made:—"Russia has adhered to the five propositions which are to serve as the preliminaries of peace, and which were presented for her acceptance by Austria, with the assent of France and England. This unreserved adhesion was announced in a note addressed by Count Nesselrode, the Russian chancellor, to Count Esterhazy, the Austrian minister at St. Petersburg, and in a despatch communicated to Count Buol by Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian minister at Vienna. The Russian government, in consequence, proposed the signature of a protocol at Vienna, to enregister the adhesion of the contracting courts to the propositions intended to serve as the bases of negotiation, and to declare that plenipotentiaries shall meet at Paris within three weeks (or sooner, if possible), in order to proceed successively to the signature of preliminaries, to the conclusion of an armistice, and to the opening of general negotiations. The British government had already expressed a desire that the conferences should be held at Paris, and the Austrian government having, on its side, eagerly acceded to that suggestion, it is therefore in the capital of the empire that the plenipotentiaries who may be appointed to deliberate on the conditions of peace will assemble. The protocol setting forth the acceptance of all the parties was signed yesterday (Friday) at Vienna, at noon, and it was decided that the plenipotentiaries of the powers who are to take part in the negotiations shall assemble at Paris before the 20th of February."

Upon the acceptance of the proposals of Count Esterhazy, Russia made several demands, in a manner so precise and specific, that upon an acquiescence in them it was supposed peace depended. These were—an armistice; the presence of two representatives on her part throughout the Paris conferences, or wherever else it might be decided that the conferences should be held; that no territorial concessions should be demanded from her except those necessary to the "rectification" of her Danubian frontier; and that she should not be required to pay the expenses caused to the allies by the war. She, on her part, voluntarily undertook not to reconstruct the fortress of Bomarsund.

Among the incidents which quickened the negotiations at Paris was the delivery of the queen's speech at the opening of the British parliament. This document, which will appear elsewhere, was written with extraordinary vigour, and caused at Paris an amount of discussion, which all the protocols, notes, and despatches, then circulating among the ministers of the different courts, could not com-

mand. The spirit of Lord Palmerston, it was confessed, was seen in the document, and his bold and resolute policy appeared to advantage in every paragraph. The hopes which Russia indulged of extricating herself by the assistance of Austria and Prussia from the more stern terms which constituted the basis of negotiations, were considerably abridged when her majesty's speech came into the hands of the Russian ministers.

It was on the 25th of February the first sitting of the conference took place, upon the successful issues of which depended peace or war. The following is a report of the proceedings, according to a copy presented to the British parliament by command of her majesty:—

PROTOCOL No. I.

Present:—

- For AUSTRIA—Count de Buol-Schauenstein, &c., and Baron de Hübnér, &c.
- For FRANCE—Count Colonna Walewski, &c., and Baron de Bourqueney, &c.
- For GREAT BRITAIN—The Earl of Clarendon, &c., and Lord Cowley, &c.
- For RUSSIA—Count Orloff, &c., and Baron de Brunnow, &c.
- For SARDINIA—Count de Cavour, &c., and the Marquis de Villamarina, &c.
- For TURKEY—Aali Pasha, &c., and Mehmed Djemil Bey.

The plenipotentiaries of Austria, of France, of Great Britain, of Russia, of Sardinia, and of Turkey, met to-day in conference at the hotel of the ministry for foreign affairs.

Count Buol speaks, and proposes that the presidency of the labours of the conference should be confided to Count Walewski. "This is not only," he observes, "a custom sanctioned by precedents and recently observed at Vienna; it is at the same time an act of homage to the sovereign whose hospitality the representatives of Europe are at this moment enjoying." Count Buol entertains no doubt of the unanimous assent with which this selection, which ensures, in all respects, the best directions being given to the labours of the conference, will be received.

The plenipotentiaries unanimously agree to this proposal, and Count Walewski, having assumed the presidency, thanks the conference in these terms:—"Gentlemen, I thank you for the honour you have the goodness to do me in choosing me as your organ, and, though I esteem myself very unworthy of that honour, I cannot, I ought not to hesitate to accept it, for it is a fresh evidence of the sentiments which have induced our allies, as well as our adversaries, to demand that Paris should be the seat of the negotiations now about to be opened. The unanimity manifested on this point augurs well for the final result of our efforts. As far as concerns me personally, I shall endeavour to justify your confidence, by conscientiously fulfil-

ling the duties which you have imposed on me ; it shall be my care to prevent useless prolixity ; but, while having specially in view the prompt attainment of this object, I shall, nevertheless, not forget that too much precipitation may keep us from it. Moreover, gentlemen, being all animated with an equally conciliatory spirit, and disposed to evince mutual good-will by avoiding irritating discussions, we shall be able to accomplish, scrupulously, and with all the completeness which it admits of, the great task which is imposed on us, without losing sight of the just impatience of Europe, the eyes of which are fixed upon us, and which anxiously awaits the result of our deliberations."

Upon the proposal of Count Walewski, the conference decides to intrust the drawing up of the protocols to M. Benedetti, director of political affairs in the office for foreign affairs, who is introduced.

The plenipotentiaries then proceed to the verification of their respective powers, which having been found in good and due form, are deposited among the acts of the conference.

Count Walewski proposes, and the plenipotentiaries agree, mutually to engage to observe complete secrecy respecting everything which shall pass in the conference.

Sardinia not having taken part in the signature of the protocol agreed upon at Vienna on the 1st of February last, the Sardinian plenipotentiaries declare that they fully assent to the said protocol and the document annexed to it.

Count Walewski, after having explained the order of the labours with which the conference would have to occupy itself, proposes to declare that the protocol signed at Vienna on the 1st February should serve as preliminaries of peace.

The plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their ideas on this point, considering that the protocol signed at Vienna on the 1st of February by the representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Turkey, record the adhesion of their courts to the bases of negotiations laid down in the document annexed to the said protocol, and that its provisions fulfil the object which would be obtained by an act designed to settle the preliminaries of peace, agree that that same protocol and its annex, a copy of which shall be marked with their initials and annexed to the present protocol, shall have the value of formal preliminaries of peace.

The plenipotentiaries being thus agreed respecting the preliminaries of peace, Count Walewski proposes to proceed to the conclusion of an armistice. The duration and nature thereof having been discussed, the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers, considering that it is necessary to take steps for a suspension of hostilities between the armies in the field during the presumed continuance of

the negotiations, resolve that an armistice shall be concluded by the commanders-in-chief, which shall cease absolutely on the 31st of March next inclusively, if before that period it is not to be renewed by common consent.

During the suspension of hostilities the troops shall retain the respective positions which they occupy, abstaining from any act of aggression.

In consequence, the present decision shall be transmitted without delay, and, as far as possible, by the telegraph, to the commanders-in-chief, in order that they may conform to it as soon as the orders of their governments shall reach them.

The plenipotentiaries further resolve that the armistice shall not affect the blockades established or to be established ; but the commanders of the naval forces shall receive orders to abstain, during the continuance of the armistice, from any act of hostility against the territories of the belligerents.

This being settled, the plenipotentiaries agree that they will meet on the day after to-morrow, the 27th of February, in order to proceed to the negotiation of the definite treaty.

Done at Paris, the twenty-fifth of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(Signed)

BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.

HUBNER.

WALEWSKI.

BOURQUENEY.

CLARENDON.

COWLEY.

COUNT ORLOFF.

BRUNNOW.

CAYOUR.

VILLA-MARINA.

AALI.

MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

In consequence of the acceptance, by their respective courts, of the five propositions contained in the next document, under the title of a "Project of Preliminaries," the undersigned, after having affixed their initials to it, in conformity with the authority to that effect which they have received, have agreed that each of their governments shall name plenipotentiaries, furnished with the necessary full powers, in order to proceed to the signature of formal preliminaries of peace, and conclude an armistice and a definitive treaty of peace. The said plenipotentiaries shall meet at Paris within a period of three weeks from this day, or sooner if possible.

Done at Vienna, in quintuplicate, the first of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

[Here follow the signatures.]

PROJECT OF PRELIMINARIES.

I. *Danubian Principalities*.—Complete abolition of the Russian protectorate.

Russia shall not exercise any special or exclusive right of protection or of interference in the internal affairs of the Danubian principalities.

The principalities shall preserve their privileges and immunities under the suzerainty of the Porte, and the sultan, in concert with the contracting powers, shall further grant to these principalities, or confirm therein, an internal organisation suitable to the wants and wishes of the populations.

The principalities shall, in concert with the suzerain power, adopt a permanent defensive system required by their geographical situation; no obstacle shall be thrown in the way of the extraordinary defensive measures which they may be called upon to adopt in order to repel any foreign aggression.

In exchange for the fortified positions and territories occupied by the allied armies, Russia consents to a rectification of her frontier with Turkey in Europe. This frontier, thus rectified in a manner suitable to the general interests, would start from the neighbourhood of Chotyn, follow the line of mountains which stretches in the south-easterly direction, and terminate on Lake Salzyk. The line would be definitively settled in the treaty of peace, and the ceded territory revert to the principalities and to the suzerainty of the Porte.

II. *Danube*.—The freedom of the Danube, and of its mouths, shall be effectually secured by European institutions, in which the contracting powers shall be equally represented, without prejudice to the special positions of the river-bordering powers, which shall be settled upon the principles established by the act of the Congress of Vienna on the subject of river navigation.

Each of the contracting powers shall have the right of stationing one or two light vessels of war at the mouths of the river, for the purpose of insuring the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of the Danube.

III. *Black Sea*.—The Black Sea shall be neutralised. Its waters, thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, shall be interdicted to vessels of war. Consequently, there shall neither be created nor maintained there any military maritime arsenals.

The protection of the commercial and maritime interests of every nation shall be assured in the respective ports of the Black Sea, by the establishment of institutions in conformity with international right and the established usages in such matter.

The two powers bordering on it shall mutually engage to maintain there only the number of light vessels, of fixed force, necessary for the service of their coasts. The convention to be concluded between them to this effect,

after having previously received the approbation of the powers signing the general treaty, shall be annexed to the said treaty, and shall have the same force and value as if it formed an integral portion of it. This separate convention shall neither be annulled nor modified without the assent of the powers signing the general treaty.

The closing of the Straits shall be subject to the exception in favour of the stationary vessels mentioned in the preceding article.

IV. *Christian Populations subject to the Porte*.—The immunities of the Rayah subjects of the Porte shall be confirmed, without prejudice to the independence and dignity of the sultan's crown.

Deliberations being in progress between Austria, France, Great Britain, and the Sublime Porte, with the view of insuring to the Christian subjects of the sultan their religious and political rights, Russia shall be invited, at the peace, to take part therein.

V. *Special Conditions*.—The belligerent powers reserve to themselves the right which belongs to them of proposing, in the interests of Europe, special conditions in addition to the four guarantees.

It would occupy too much space in any history, unless it were simply a history of the diplomacy of the war, to publish the report of the various sittings in which the conferences were sustained, and the discussions which they involved. During these discussions, the representatives of Russia evinced the usual want of candour characteristic of the diplomatic agents of that power. Those of Austria were sometimes more in harmony with the representatives of Russia than with the ministers of the allies. To the firmness and wisdom of Lord Clarendon, England and Turkey were much indebted. On the 30th of March, the treaty of peace was finally agreed upon and signed. Before drawing attention to such incidents of the conference as deserve selection, the treaty and annexed conventions will show the results which gave to the conference its interest.

General Treaty between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan.

[Signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856.—Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27th, 1856.]

In the Name of Almighty God.

Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, animated by the desire of putting an end to the calamities of

war, and wishing to prevent the return of the complications which occasioned it, resolved to come to an understanding with His Majesty the Emperor of Austria as to the bases on which peace might be re-established and consolidated, by securing, through effectual and reciprocal guarantees, the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

For this purpose Their said Majesties named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—the Right Honourable George William Frederick Earl of Clarendon, Baron Hyde of Hindon, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Right Honourable Henry Richard Charles Baron Cowley, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French ;

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria—the Sieur Charles Ferdinand Count of Buol-Schauenstein, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Leopold of Austria, and Knight of the Order of the Iron Crown of the first class, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Orders of the Black Eagle and of the Red Eagle of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Imperial Orders of Alexander Newski, in diamonds, and of the White Eagle of Russia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidié of the first class, &c. &c. &c., His Chamberlain and actual Privy Councillor, His Minister of the House and of Foreign Affairs, President of the Conference of Ministers; and the Sieur Joseph Alexander Baron de Hübner, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Iron Crown, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, His actual Privy Councillor, and His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France ;

His Majesty the Emperor of the French—the Sieur Alexander Count Colonna Walewski, a Senator of the Empire, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, Knight Grand Cross of the Equestrian Order of the Seraphim, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidié of the first class, &c. &c. &c., His Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Sieur Francis Adolphus Baron de Bourqueney, Grand

Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour and of the Order of Leopold of Austria, decorated with the Portrait of the Sultan in diamonds, &c. &c. &c., His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty ;

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias—the Sieur Alexis Count Orloff, His Aide-de-camp General and General of Cavalry, Commander of the Head-quarters of His Majesty, a Member of the Council of the Empire and of the Committee of Ministers, decorated with two Portraits in diamonds of Their Majesties the late Emperor Nicholas and the Emperor Alexander II., Knight of the Order of St. Andrew in diamonds, and of the Orders of Russia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen of Austria of the first class, of the Black Eagle of Prussia in diamonds, of the Annunciation of Sardinia, and of several other foreign Orders; and the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnov, His Privy Councillor, His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Germanic Confederation and to the Grand-Duke of Hesse, Knight of the Orders of St. Vladimir of the first class, of St. Alexander Newski enriched with diamonds, of the White Eagle, of St. Anne of the first class, of St. Stanislaus of the first class, Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the first class, Commander of the Order of St. Stephen of Austria, and of several other foreign Orders ;

His Majesty the King of Sardinia—the Sieur Camille Benso, Count of Cavour, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, Knight of the Order of Civil Merit of Savoy, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidié of the first class, Grand Cross of several other foreign Orders, President of the Council of Ministers, and His Minister Secretary of State for the Finances; and the Sieur Salvator Marquis de Villa-Marina, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, &c. &c. &c., His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France ;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans—Mouhammed Emin Aali Pasha, Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, decorated with the Imperial Orders of the Medjidié and of Merit of the first class, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, of St. Stephen of Austria, of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of St. Anne of Russia, of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus of Sardinia, of the Polar Star of Sweden, and of several other foreign Orders; and Mchemmed Djemil Bey, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidié of the second class, and Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, His Ambassador

Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French, accredited in the same character to His Majesty the King of Sardinia;

Which Plenipotentiaries assembled in Congress at Paris.

An understanding having been happily established between them, Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, considering that in the interest of Europe, His Majesty the King of Prussia, a signing Party to the Convention of the 13th of July, 1841, should be invited to participate in the new arrangements to be adopted, and appreciating the value that the concurrence of His said Majesty would add to a work of general pacification, invited him to send Plenipotentiaries to the Congress.

In consequence, His Majesty the King of Prussia named as His Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :—

The Sieur Otho Theodore Baron de Mantuffel, President of His Council, and His Minister for Foreign Affairs, Knight of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the first class, with Oak-leaves, Crown, and Sceptre, Grand Commander of the Order of Hohenzollern, Knight of the Order of St. John of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen of Hungary, Knight of the Order of St. Alexander Newski, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and of the Order of the Nichan-Iftihar of Turkey, &c. &c. &c.; and the Sieur Maximilian Frederick Charles Francis Count of Hatzfeldt Wildenburg-Schoenstein, His Actual Privy Counsellor. His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France, Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the second class, with Oak-leaves and Badge, Knight of the Cross of Honour of Hohenzollern of the first class, &c. &c. &c.

The plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles :—

ART. I.—From the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, there shall be peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Majesty the King of Sardinia, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, on the one part, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias on the other part, as well as between their heirs and successors, their respective dominions and subjects, in perpetuity.

ART. II.—Peace being happily re-established

between their said majesties, the territories conquered or occupied by their armies during the war shall be reciprocally evacuated.

Special arrangements shall regulate the mode of the evacuation, which shall be as prompt as possible.

ART. III.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engages to restore to His Majesty the Sultan the town and citadel of Kars, as well as the other parts of the Ottoman territory of which the Russian troops are in possession.

ART. IV.—Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, engage to restore to His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias the towns and ports of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesch, Eupatoria, Kerteh, Yenikale, Kinburn, as well as all other territories occupied by the allied troops.

ART. V.—Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, grant a full and entire amnesty to those of their subjects who may have been compromised by any participation whatsoever in the events of the war in favour of the cause of the enemy.

It is expressly understood that such amnesty shall extend to the subjects of each of the belligerent parties who may have continued, during the war, to be employed in the service of one of the other belligerents.

ART. VI.—Prisoners of war shall be immediately given up on either side.

ART. VII.—Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Majesty the King of Prussia, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Majesty the King of Sardinia, declare the Sublime Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system (*concert*) of Europe. Their majesties engage, each on his part, to respect the independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire; guarantee in common the strict observance of that engagement, and will, in consequence, consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest.

ART. VIII.—If there should arise between the Sublime Porte and one or more of the other signing powers any misunderstanding which might endanger the maintenance of their relations, the Sublime Porte, and each of such Powers, before having recourse to the use of

force, shall afford the other contracting parties the opportunity of preventing such an extremity by means of their mediation.

ART. IX.—His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, having, in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a firman which, while ameliorating their condition without distinction of religion or of race, records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his empire, and wishing to give a further proof of his sentiments in that respect, has resolved to communicate to the contracting parties the said firman, emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will.

The contracting powers recognise the high value of this communication. It is clearly understood that it cannot, in any case, give to the said powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of His Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his empire.

ART. X.—The convention of the 13th of July, 1841, which maintains the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire relative to the closing of the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles, has been revised by common consent.

The act concluded for that purpose, and in conformity with that principle, between the high contracting parties, is and remains annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed an integral part thereof.

ART. XI.—The Black Sea is neutralised; its waters and its ports, thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, are formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war, either of the powers possessing its coasts, or of any other power, with the exceptions mentioned in Articles XIV. and XIX. of the present treaty.

ART. XII.—Free from any impediment, the commerce in the ports and waters of the Black Sea shall be subject only to regulations of health, customs, and police, framed in a spirit favourable to the development of commercial transactions.

In order to afford to the commercial and maritime interests of every nation the security which is desired, Russia and the Sublime Porte will admit consuls into their ports situated upon the coast of the Black Sea, in conformity with the principles of international law.

ART. XIII.—The Black Sea being neutralised, according to the terms of article XI. the maintenance, or establishment upon its coast, of military maritime arsenals becomes alike unnecessary and purposeless; in consequence, his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, engage

not to establish or to maintain upon that coast any military maritime arsenal.

ART. XIV.—Their Majesties the Emperor of all the Russias and the Sultan, having concluded a convention for the purpose of settling the force and the number of light vessels necessary for the service of their coasts, which they reserve to themselves to maintain in the Black Sea, that convention is annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed an integral part thereof. It cannot be either annulled or modified without the assent of the powers signing the present treaty.

ART. XV.—The act of the Congress of Vienna having established the principles intended to regulate the navigation of rivers which separate or traverse different states, the contracting powers stipulate among themselves that those principles shall in future be equally applied to the Danube and its mouths. They declare that this arrangement henceforth forms a part of the public law of Europe, and take it under their guarantee.

The navigation of the Danube cannot be subjected to any impediment or charge not expressly provided for by the stipulations contained in the following articles: in consequence, there shall not be levied any toll founded solely upon the fact of the navigation of the river, nor any duty upon the goods which may be on board of vessels. The regulations of police and of quarantine, to be established for the safety of the states separated or traversed by that river, shall be so framed as to facilitate, as much as possible, the passage of vessels. With the exception of such regulations, no obstacle whatever shall be opposed to free navigation.

ART. XVI.—With the view to carry out the arrangements of the preceding article, a Commission, in which Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, shall each be represented by one delegate, shall be charged to designate, and to cause to be executed, the works necessary below Isatcha, to clear the mouths of the Danube, as well as the neighbouring parts of the sea in the best possible state for navigation.

In order to cover the expenses of such works, as well as of the establishments intended to secure and to facilitate the navigation at the mouths of the Danube, fixed duties, of a suitable rate, settled by the Commission by a majority of votes, may be levied, on the express condition that, in this respect as in every other, the flags of all nations shall be treated on the footing of perfect equality.

ART. XVII.—A Commission shall be established, and shall be composed of delegates of Austria, Bavaria, the Sublime Porte, and Wur-

temberg (one for each of those powers), to whom shall be added Commissioners from the three Danubian principalities, whose nomination shall have been approved by the Porte. This Commission, which shall be permanent: 1. Shall prepare regulations of navigation and river police; 2. Shall remove the impediments, of whatever nature they may be, which still prevent the application to the Danube of the arrangements of the treaty of Vienna; 3. Shall order and cause to be executed the necessary works throughout the whole course of the river; and, 4. Shall, after the dissolution of the European Commission, see to maintaining the mouths of the Danube, and the neighbouring parts of the sea in a navigable state.

ART. XVIII.—It is understood that the European Commission shall have completed its task, and that the River Commission shall have finished the works described in the preceding article, under Nos. 1 and 2, within the period of two years. The signing powers assembled in conference having been informed of that fact shall, after having placed it on record, pronounce the dissolution of the European Commission, and from that time the permanent River Commission shall enjoy the same powers as those with which the European Commission shall have until then been invested.

ART. XIX.—In order to insure the execution of the regulations which shall have been established by common agreement, in conformity with the principles above declared, each of the contracting powers shall have the right to station, at all times, two light vessels at the mouths of the Danube.

ART. XX.—In exchange for the towns, ports, and territories enumerated in article IV. of the present treaty, and in order more fully to secure the freedom of the navigation of the Danube, his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias consents to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia.

The new frontier shall begin from the Black Sea, one kilometre to the east of the Lake Bourna Sola, shall run perpendicularly to the Akerman Road, shall follow that road to the *Val de Trajan*, pass to the south of Bolgrad, ascend the course of the River Yalpuck to the Height of Saratsika, and terminate at Kata-mori on the Pruth. Above that point, the old frontier between the two empires shall not undergo any modification.

Delegates of the contracting powers shall fix, in its details, the line of the new frontier.

ART. XXI.—The territory ceded by Russia shall be annexed to the Principality of Moldavia under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte.

The inhabitants of that territory shall enjoy the rights and privileges secured to the principalities; and, during the space of three years, they shall be permitted to transfer their domicile elsewhere, disposing freely of their property.

ART. XXII.—The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia shall continue to enjoy, under the suzerainty of the Porte, and under the guarantee of the contracting powers, the privileges and immunities of which they are in possession. No exclusive protection shall be exercised over them by any of the guaranteeing powers. There shall be no separate right of interference in their internal affairs.

ART. XXIII.—The Sublime Porte engages to preserve to the said principalities an independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

The laws and statutes at present in force shall be revised. In order to establish a complete agreement in regard to such revision, a special commission—as to the composition of which the high contracting powers will come to an understanding among themselves—shall assemble, without delay, at Bucharest, together with a commissioner of the Sublime Porte.

The business of this commission shall be to investigate the present state of the principalities, and to propose bases for their future organisation.

ART. XXIV.—His Majesty the Sultan promises to convoke immediately in each of the two provinces a *divan ad hoc*, composed in such a manner as to represent most closely the interests of all classes of society. These *divans* shall be called upon to express the wishes of the people in regard to the definitive organisation of the principalities.

An instruction from the congress shall regulate the relations between the commission and these *divans*.

ART. XXV.—Taking into consideration the opinion expressed by the two *divans*, the commission shall transmit, without delay, to the present seat of the conferences, the result of its own labours.

The final agreement with the suzerain power shall be recorded in a convention to be concluded at Paris between the high contracting parties; and a *hatti-sherif*, in conformity with the stipulations of the convention, shall constitute definitively the organisation of those provinces, placed thenceforward under the collective guarantee of all the signing powers.

ART. XXVI.—It is agreed that there shall be in the principalities a national armed force, organised with the view to maintain the security of the interior, and to insure that of the

frontiers. No impediment shall be opposed to the extraordinary measures of defence which, by agreement with the Sublime Porte, they may be called upon to take in order to repel any external aggression.

ART. XXVII.—If the internal tranquillity of the principalities should be menaced or compromised, the Sublime Porte shall come to an understanding with the other contracting powers in regard to the measures to be taken for maintaining or re-establishing legal order. No armed intervention can take place without previous agreement between those powers.

ART. XXVIII.—The principality of Servia shall continue to hold of the Sublime Porte, in conformity with the imperial *hats* which fix and determine its rights and immunities, placed henceforward under the collective guarantee of the contracting powers.

In consequence, the said principality shall preserve its independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

ART. XXIX.—The right of garrison of the Sublime Porte, as stipulated by anterior regulations, is maintained. No armed intervention can take place in Servia without previous agreement between the high contracting powers.

ART. XXX.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and His Majesty the Sultan maintain, in its integrity, the state of their possessions in Asia, such as it legally existed before the rupture.

In order to prevent all local dispute, the line of frontier shall be verified, and, if necessary, rectified, without any prejudice as regards territory being sustained by either party.

For this purpose a mixed commission, composed of two Russian commissioners, two Ottoman commissioners, one English commissioner, and one French commissioner, shall be sent to the spot immediately after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the court of Russia and the Sublime Porte. Its labours shall be completed within the period of eight months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

ART. XXXI.—The territories occupied during the war by the troops of Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, and the King of Sardinia, according to the terms of the conventions signed at Constantinople on the twelfth of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, between Great Britain, France, and the Sublime Porte; on the fourteenth of June of the same year between Austria and the Sublime Porte; and on the fifteenth of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, between

Sardinia and the Sublime Porte, shall be evacuated as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The periods and the means of execution shall form the object of an arrangement between the Sublime Porte and the powers whose troops have occupied its territory.

ART. XXXII.—Until the treaties or conventions which existed before the war between the belligerent powers have been either renewed or replaced by new acts, commerce of importation or of exportation shall take place reciprocally on the footing of the regulations in force before the war; and in all other matters their subjects shall be respectively treated upon the footing of the most favoured nation.

ART. XXXIII.—The convention concluded this day between Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, on the one part, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias on the other part, respecting the Aland Islands, is and remains annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed a part thereof.

ART. XXXIV.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(Signed)

CLARENDON.

COWLEY.

BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.

HÜBNER.

A. WALEWSKI.

BOURQUENEY.

MANTEUFFEL.

C. M. d'HATZFELDT.

ORLOFF.

BRUNNOW.

C. CAVOUR.

DE VILLA-MARINA.

AALI.

MEHMMED DJEMIL.

ADDITIONAL AND TRANSITORY ARTICLE.

The stipulations of the convention respecting the Straits, signed this day, shall not be applicable to the vessels of war employed by the belligerent powers for the evacuation, by sea, of the territories occupied by their armies; but the said stipulations shall resume their entire effect as soon as the evacuation shall be terminated.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

[Here follow the signatures as above.]

CONVENTIONS ANNEXED TO THE PRECEDING TREATY.

I.—Convention between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Sardinia, on the one part, and the Sultan, on the other part, respecting the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus.

[Signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856.—Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27th, 1856.]

In the Name of Almighty God.

Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Russias, signing parties to the convention of the thirteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, and His Majesty the King of Sardinia, wishing to record in common their unanimous determination to conform to the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire, according to which the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus are closed to foreign ships of war, so long as the Porte is at peace;

Their said majesties on the one part, and His Majesty the Sultan on the other, have resolved to renew the convention concluded at London on the thirteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, with the exception of some modifications of detail which do not affect the principle upon which it rests.

In consequence their said majesties have named for that purpose as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

[Here follow the names and titles of the plenipotentiaries already recorded.]

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

ART. I.—His Majesty the Sultan, on the one part, declares that he is firmly resolved to maintain for the future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his empire, and in virtue of which it has, at all times, been prohibited for the ships of war of foreign powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus, and that, so long as the Porte is at peace, his majesty will admit no foreign ship of war into the said Straits. And their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Rus-

sias, and the King of Sardinia, on the other part, engage to respect this determination of the sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared.

ART. II.—The sultan reserves to himself, as in past times, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war, which shall be employed, as is usual, in the service of the missions of foreign powers.

ART. III.—The same exception applies to the light vessels under flag of war, which each of the contracting powers is authorised to station at the mouths of the Danube, in order to secure the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of that river, and the number of which is not to exceed two for each power.

ART. IV.—The present convention, annexed to the general treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

[Here follow the signatures as before.]

II.—Convention between the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan, limiting their Naval Force in the Black Sea.

[Signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856.—Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27th, 1856.]

In the Name of Almighty God.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, taking into consideration the principle of the neutralisation of the Black Sea established by the preliminaries contained in the Protocol No. 1, signed at Paris on the twenty-fifth of February of the present year, and wishing, in consequence, to regulate by common agreement the number and the force of the light vessels which they have reserved to themselves to maintain in the Black Sea for the service of their coasts, have resolved to sign, with that view, a special convention, and have named for that purpose:—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias—the Sieur Alexis Count Orloff, his Aide-de-camp general, &c., the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnow, his Privy Counsellor, &c.; and his Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans—Mouhammed Emin Aali Pasha, Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, &c., and Mehmed Djemil Bey, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidié of the second class, &c., who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

ART. I.—The high contracting parties mutually engage not to have in the Black Sea any other vessels of war than those of which the number, the force, and the dimensions are hereinafter stipulated.

ART. II.—The high contracting parties reserve to themselves each to maintain in that sea six steam-vessels of fifty metres in length at the line of floatation, of a tonnage of eight hundred tons at the maximum, and four light steam or sailing-vessels, of a tonnage which shall not exceed two hundred tons each.

ART. III.—The present convention, annexed to the general treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(Signed) ORLOFF.
BRUNNOW.
AALI.
MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

III. — Convention between Her Majesty, the Emperor of the French, and the Emperor of Russia, respecting the Aland Islands.

[Signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856.—Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27th, 1856.]

In the name of Almighty God.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, wishing to extend to the Baltic Sea the harmony so happily re-established between them in the East, and thereby to consolidate the benefits of the general peace, have resolved to conclude a convention, and have named for that purpose:—Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—the Right Honourable George William Frederick Earl of Clarendon, Baron Hyde of Hindon, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, &c., and the Right Honourable Henry Richard Charles Baron Cowley, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, &c.; His Majesty the Emperor of the French—the Sieur Alexander Count Colonna Walewski, a Senator of the Empire, &c., and the Sieur Francis Adolphus Baron de Bourqueney, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, &c.; His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias—the Sieur Alexis Count Orloff, his Aide-de-

camp General, &c., and the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnow, his Privy Councillor, &c., who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

ART. I.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in order to respond to the desire which has been expressed to him by their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Emperor of the French, declares that the Aland Islands shall not be fortified, and that no military or naval establishment shall be maintained or created there.

ART. II.—The present convention, annexed to the general treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(Signed) CLARENDON.
COWLEY.
A. WALEWSKI.
BOURQUENEY.
ORLOFF.
BRUNNOW.

During the sittings of the conference which led to the settlement of the foregoing treaty and its annexes, various subjects of deep interest were started for discussion, some of which received a satisfactory solution, others evoking a hopeless diversity of opinion.

In the sitting of the 28th of February, Baron Brunnow stated his opinion that the situation of Servia should be the subject of an especial article, to which all the plenipotentiaries assented.

Count Walewski remarked that the future organisation of the principalities had given rise to several systems, and was proceeding to develop them, when the plenipotentiaries unanimously expressed the opinion that all these combinations should be referred to a committee selected by the congress, which should lay down the principles of the political and administrative constitution of the Danubian provinces, leaving the duty of working out the details to a second commission, in which the contracting parties should be represented, and which should meet immediately after the conclusion of peace.

Repeated attempts were made during this sitting, by the Russian representatives, to impart the terms employed during the negotiations at Vienna into the expression of articles

in the treaty under discussion. These attempts were foiled chiefly by the Baron de Bourqueney, who declared that ideas were then more developed and better defined than at Vienna, and that terms and modes of expression then employed would fall short of the demands, and the best mode of expressing them which the treaty under discussion required.

Count Orloff objected to the stationing of vessels of war at the mouth of the Danube; Count Walewski, with energy, supported this as necessary, and Count Buol also maintained it. Baron Brunnow was concessive, and as Count Orloff had no assistance, he waived his objection.

In consequence of a question raised by Count Walewski, a discussion ensued as to the representation of Prussia in the congress. It seemed as if the count were favourable to her admission, and was throwing out a feeler as to the prospect of a general consent by the plenipotentiaries. The representatives of Austria and Russia seized upon the suggestion of Walewski, and urged the admission of the representatives of Prussia; but the Earl of Clarendon firmly opposed it as improper until the clauses of the general treaty should be settled. Count Walewski then suddenly withdrew the discussion which he had himself provoked.

On the reading of the fourth point, Count Orloff demanded of the Turkish ministers what guarantee they would give as to the protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte in their religious privileges. Aali Pasha endeavoured to evade this question; pointed out the fact of a new *hatti-sherif* having renewed the religious privileges of the sultan's non-Mussulman subjects, and declared that the publication of this act, and the communication of it by an official note to the powers, completed the requirements which the plenipotentiaries ought to make. Count Orloff and Baron Hübnér demanded that express mention should be made of these concessions in the treaty itself: all the other plenipotentiaries supported this view. The grand vizier affirmed that his powers did not enable him to consent to this, and he must consult his government by telegraph. This broke up the *séance*.

The sitting of the 1st of March was signalised by various attempts at procrastination by Count Orloff, which were, from their nature, successful. The first point on which diversity of opinion arose was upon the demand of Turkey for an identification, and if necessary a rectification, of the boundary between the two empires in Asia. Count Orloff considered the boundaries sufficiently defined; and endeavoured to explain away, under the guise of quarrels about private property, the various efforts of Russia, since 1834, to encroach upon Turkish territory. The sultan's plenipotentiaries insisted, not only upon the necessity of

an immediate verification of the boundary under former treaties, but also upon the rectification of that boundary, in the interest of the integrity of the Turkish empire. Baron Brunnow resorted to various sophistries to evade this demand, but finding that the Turkish representations received unanimous assent, hinted that this might stop the progress of the treaty altogether, as at Vienna Russia was assured that no concession of territory should be demanded from her, when she made such an assurance a preliminary to negotiations for a general pacification. Count Walewski answered that a revision of boundaries did not constitute a territorial readjustment; and proposed that a mixed commission should be charged, after the conclusion of peace, to decide on this point within a given period. The Russian representatives deferred a final decision on the matter.

Count Walewski referred to the dismantled forts on the Circassian coasts, demanding a definite understanding as to their reconstruction. The tone and manner of the count were undecided, and as if he were unwilling to press Russia closely on this matter. The Earl of Clarendon seemed surprised that any doubt should exist on this point, as the principle of the neutralisation of the Black Sea clearly prohibited the rebuilding of fortified places. The Russian plenipotentiaries insisted that *forts* were not "maritime military arsenals," and therefore the principle already accepted as to the neutralisation of the Black Sea did not interpose an obstacle to the erection or re-creation of forts. These sophisms were indignantly confuted by Lord Clarendon, but the Russian plenipotentiaries obstinately resisted; Lord Clarendon met with a very qualified support, and the discussion ended in a drawn battle: the subject was deferred.

At the sitting of the 4th of March, Count Walewski again introduced the subject of a mixed commission, to settle the boundaries of Asiatic Turkey and Russia. The Turks wisely insisted that the commissioners should not only represent the interested powers, but the allies. Accordingly it was proposed by the count, that two Turks, two Russians, one Englishman, and one Frenchman should constitute the commission. This met with universal approval, except from the Russian ministers, who unwillingly acceded to it, subject to the approval of their sovereign.

The neutralisation of the Black Sea was then discussed. Lord Clarendon offered a moderate opposition to the existence of the dockyards of Nicolaieff; but his opposition would have been couched in firmer language if it had not been previously ascertained that Russia intended to act in reference to this place in the spirit of the treaty. The following was the report of

the categorical inquiry of Lord Clarendon, and the reply of the first plenipotentiary of Russia. Their insertion here is made desirable by the extreme importance of the subject.

"The first plenipotentiary of Great Britain states that Russia possesses, at Nicolaieff, an arsenal of the first class for maritime works, the maintenance of which would be in contradiction to the principles on which the paragraph, of which the congress has just settled the terms, is founded. This arsenal, not being situated on the shores of the Black Sea, Lord Clarendon does not mean to assert that Russia is bound to destroy the ship-building yards which exist there; but he remarks that public opinion would be authorised in attributing to Russia intentions which she cannot entertain, if Nicolaieff were to retain, as a centre for all maritime works, the importance which it has acquired.

"The first plenipotentiary of Russia replies that the emperor, his august master, on acceding with sincerity to the propositions of peace, firmly resolved strictly to carry out all the engagements resulting from them; but that Nicolaieff, being situated far from the shores of the Black Sea, respect for her dignity would not permit Russia to allow a principle solely applicable to the coast to be extended to the interior of the empire; that the security of, and watching over, the coasts required, moreover, that Russia should have, as had been admitted, a certain number of light vessels in the Black Sea, and that, if she consented to give up the ship-building yards of Nicolaieff, she would be compelled to establish others in some other point of her southern possessions; that, in order at once to provide for his engagements, and for the requirements of the naval service, the emperor intends only to authorise the construction at Nicolaieff of the vessels of war mentioned in the bases of the negotiation.

"The first plenipotentiary of Great Britain, and, after him, the other plenipotentiaries, consider this declaration satisfactory.

"The Earl of Clarendon inquires of the first plenipotentiary of Russia whether he agrees to the insertion of his declaration in the protocol. After having replied in the affirmative, Count Orloff adds that, in order to prove the sincerity of his intentions, the emperor has instructed him to demand a free passage through the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles for the two ships of the line which are now at Nicolaieff, and which would have to proceed to the Baltic as soon as peace was concluded."

At the sitting of March the 6th, the former subject was renewed, it having apparently escaped the allies that Cherson might be used for military maritime purposes, if Nicolaieff

were not, and that the Sea of Azoff might be used for flotillas, powerful for aggression in the Black Sea. The congress seems to have contented themselves with the assurances of Count Orloff, and to have left this matter too open, so as possibly to prove a source of danger in some new complication. The following were the questions and reply of the Earl of Clarendon and Count Orloff on this subject:—

"The first plenipotentiary of Great Britain inquires of the plenipotentiaries of Russia whether the declaration made by Count Orloff in the preceding sitting, on the subject of Nicolaieff, applies equally to Cherson and to the Sea of Azoff.

"The first plenipotentiary of Russia replies that, like Nicolaieff, the Sea of Azoff cannot be included under the direct application of the principle accepted by Russia; that, on the other hand, it is indubitable that large vessels cannot navigate that sea; he abides, however, by the assurances to which the Earl of Clarendon has referred, and he repeats that Russia, being desirous of acting wholly in conformity with the engagements which she has contracted, will not build, anywhere on the shores of the Black Sea, or in its tributaries, or in the waters which are dependent on it, any ship of war other than those which Russia will maintain in the Black Sea according to the terms of her convention with Turkey."

In this sitting a contest arose concerning the commission for effectually opening, and keeping open, the navigation of the Danube. The congress, with the exception of the Russian plenipotentiaries, were desirous that, as Bavaria was one of the states bordering the Danube, she should be represented on that commission. This was so reasonable and just, and so strictly in conformity with the original terms of agreement, that Russia could have taken no objection to it, if really willing to give up her interference with the Danube. Her conduct, subsequent to the Paris congress, proved that she had no intention to forego her designs on that river; she was, therefore, naturally desirous to refuse her assent to a measure calculated to ally Bavaria with Turkey, and Austria more especially, but less immediately with all the allies in preventing Russian aggression in that quarter. The allies were firm, however, and Russia had no alternative but to submit.

The sitting of March the 8th was remarkable for the announcement that the czar had accepted the decision of the congress in favour of a mixed commission charged with the revision of the Asiatic frontier. This sitting was also rendered memorable by the Russian ministers proposing a new line for their Bessarabian frontier, altogether different and more favourable to themselves than that agreed upon in January at Vienna, as a basis for negotiations. The

Earl of Clarendon opposed with warmth, and yet with wisdom, this departure from the basis of the treaty. Count Walewski, while affecting to support his lordship's views, offered to make great concessions to Russia in this particular, and the foundation was laid, by the French plenipotentiary in so doing, for all the differences which ultimately led to another congress at Paris, and very nearly to another war.

On the 10th of March this discussion was renewed, all parties manifesting the same spirit and the same ends as on the previous sitting. Russia was struggling hard to outwit and cajole the other plenipotentiaries, and to obtain such a boundary as would enable her, after all, eventually to make herself a Danubian power. The particulars of this discussion are more appropriate to an account of the final enforcement upon Russia of the terms of the treaty at the period which she sought to violate them. During this sitting Count Walewski insisted upon Prussia being invited to join the congress; the invitation was given in the following terms:—

“The congress, considering that it is a matter of European interest that Prussia, a signing party to the convention concluded at London on the 13th of July, 1841, should participate in the new arrangements to be adopted, decides that an extract from the protocol of this day shall be forwarded to Berlin through Count Walewski, as organ of the congress, in order to invite the Prussian government to send plenipotentiaries to Paris.”

In the sitting of March the 12th, Russia made a demand for the liberty of having light armed vessels in all her ports in the Black Sea, for the purposes of harbour police. The Turkish plenipotentiary suspected the movement, and refused his assent. Lord Clarendon wisely observed that, if it were only intended to employ armed boats to look after the character of the ships entering the harbour, that right was so obvious as not to require a clause in the treaty to recognise it; but if it were intended to have armed vessels which might put to sea under the pretext of going from one port to another, he would resist it. The Russians, finding that the trick would not take, withdrew the proposition.

In the sitting of March the 14th, the affairs of the principalities came under notice. The vizier gave no assistance in these councils, but rather displayed a *vis inertiae*, as little creditable to the sincerity of the Porte, as the previous measures of the Russian plenipotentiaries were in harmony with the good faith they so ostentatiously professed. Nothing on the subject of the principalities could be effected, the Turkish minister refusing any assent until he heard further from his government.

On the 18th of March there were two sittings. At the second, Count Walewski announced the arrival of the Prussian plenipotentiaries, who were introduced.

On the 24th of March a rather severe contest occurred, between the Russian plenipotentiaries on the one hand, and those of Turkey and Great Britain on the other. The former endeavoured to prevent the acceptance by the congress of the Turkish “annex” concerning the Christian subjects of the Porte, demanding that its consideration be referred to a commission; while this was combatted energetically by Lord Clarendon, who insisted upon its consideration *in pleno*. The grand vizier declared that if these concessions did not suffice, he would not compromise the sovereign rights of the sultan and the dignity of his throne, by allowing any interference or tampering with the allegiance of his Christian subjects. The discussion was deferred. The remainder of the sitting was occupied with Servia.

In the sitting of March the 25th, much time was uselessly consumed by sly attempts on the part of the second plenipotentiary, Baron Brunnow, to substitute certain terms in the Turkish concessions for others, which were successfully exposed and resisted by Lord Clarendon. The Earl of Clarendon introduced the subject of free commerce between Turkey and all the powers, and the application of the usual stipulation “of the most favoured nation.” The views of his lordship were broad, liberal, and statesman-like; he was supported by the representatives of Turkey, Sardinia, and France. Those of Russia and Austria resisted, and Prussia, there as elsewhere, played a double game.

The sitting of March the 30th was an important one, and is here given entire, as presented to the British houses of parliament:—

“Having met together at noon in the saloon of their deliberations, the plenipotentiaries collate with the instruments which they had marked with their initials at the previous sitting—

“I. The general treaty of peace;

“II. The convention respecting the Straits;

“III. The convention relative to the light vessels of war which the powers bordering on the coasts shall maintain in the Black Sea;

“IV. The convention respecting the Aland Islands.

“And all these acts having been found in due form, the plenipotentiaries affix to them their signature and the seal of their arms.

“After which, and upon the proposition of Count Walewski, the congress declares that the armistice, in consequence of the signature of peace, is prolonged till the time of the exchange of the ratifications, and it is agreed between

the plenipotentiaries of France, of Great Britain, of Sardinia, and of Turkey, on the one part, and the plenipotentiaries of Russia, on the other, that orders to this effect shall be transmitted without delay.

"The congress further decides that the exchange of the ratifications shall be made in six copies, that the additional article to the general treaty shall be ratified in the same instrument with the general treaty itself, and that the ratifications of that treaty and of each of the annexed conventions shall be prepared in separate acts.

"The Earl of Clarendon proposes to the plenipotentiaries to proceed to the Tuileries to inform the emperor that the congress has just concluded the work of pacification, in which his majesty took a great interest, and which Europe was awaiting with such lively impatience.

"The first plenipotentiary of Great Britain says that this proceeding, as regards the sovereign of the country in which the congress is assembled, is at once a respectful expression of gratitude due to the great kindness and gracious hospitality which the plenipotentiaries, individually and collectively, had met with on the part of his imperial majesty. Lord Clarendon adds, that he feels assured beforehand, that everything which might tend to prove the feelings of respect and high consideration with which the plenipotentiaries are animated towards the person of the Emperor Napoleon, will meet with the most complete approbation of the sovereigns whom the plenipotentiaries have the honour to represent.

"The congress adopts with eager unanimity the proposition of the first plenipotentiary of Great Britain.

"Count Walewski thanks the first plenipotentiary of Great Britain for the proposition which he has just made, and does not hesitate to give the assurance that the emperor, his august sovereign, will be very sensible of the step suggested by Lord Clarendon, and not less grateful for the sentiments which have dictated it than for the unanimous eagerness with which it has been adopted.

"The present protocol is read and approved."

[The signatures follow.]

The attaching of the signatures to the treaty was an event of profound interest to all the plenipotentiaries, and each intended to preserve, as a memento, the pen with which he signed it. A circumstance arose which prevented this: the empress requested that all the signatures should be attached with one pen, to be preserved by herself. An eagle's quill, richly mounted with gold and jewels, was accordingly used on the occasion, and presented to her imperial majesty when the plenipotentiaries, in pursuance of the proposal of Lord Clarendon, went

in a body to announce to the emperor the termination of their labours, and to congratulate him on the auspicious result. His majesty received them with the most lively indications of satisfaction, and thanked them for this act of courtesy. He paid an extreme compliment to England, to whose moderation he attributed the fortunate issue of the negotiations. This remark was most important, as indicating the emperor's view of the position of England towards Russia—her reasonableness and justice in watching the aggressive proceedings of that power, with the determination to curb them—and the practicability, good faith, and unselfishness which she nevertheless evinced when other powers, less interested, were so much in haste for peace, and when she was in an attitude, as to her resources, so prepared for protracted and sanguinary war.

As soon as the treaty was signed, copies of it were transmitted to all the governments concerned, and the 27th of April appointed for the ratification.

The labours of the congress were, however, not over; there were various supplementary matters, without which the treaty and its annexes would be incomplete. Accordingly, the members resumed their sittings on the 2nd of April, when they applied themselves to the question whether the blockades could be raised before the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of peace. The Russian plenipotentiaries declared their belief that their government would concur in the views of the allied representatives, but that, as it exceeded the powers delegated by the czar, they must refer to their imperial master.

The *séance* was adjourned to the 4th of April, on which occasion the Russian envoys informed the congress that, by the electric telegraph, the czar had signified his acquiescence in the demands made conditional to a maritime armistice. The blockades were accordingly raised.

The evacuation of territories by the lately contending armies was the next topic of discussion. Count Walewski gave assurances that in six months from the ratifications the armies of the allies would be entirely withdrawn from Russian and Turkish territories. The Russian plenipotentiaries undertook to withdraw their troops from Kars. They indicated some jealousy of the allies remaining in the Straits of Kertch.

Count Buol promised that the Austrian troops should withdraw from the principalities before the troops of France and England could be removed from Russia and Turkey—a promise which the Austrian government did not keep, nor is it at all likely ever intended to keep, for both that power and Russia were faithlessly on the watch for any change of circumstances that might furnish an occasion for

an infraction of the treaty, each in its separate interest.

It was finally agreed upon that all the armies should commence their withdrawal as soon as ratifications were exchanged, and "continue without interruption" until the evacuation of the lately contested territories was completed. This arrangement being at variance with the treaty of Constantinople of the 12th of March, 1854, and of the 15th of March, 1855, stipulating that at the conclusion of the war the allied armies should depart from the Ottoman territories in forty days, and the fulfilment of those treaties having become physically impossible by reason of the dimensions to which the war had extended, a new and especial convention was made with the sultan in the spirit of the protocol at Paris which necessitated it.

The congress then decided that the commissioners who, in the terms of Article XX. of the treaty of peace, were to undertake the demarcation of the new frontier of Russia in Bessarabia, should meet at Galatz on the 6th of May, to execute the duties of their mission.

Lord Clarendon proposed that, in the interest of the evacuation, the allied ships should have free ingress to the harbour of Sebastopol. The Russian ministers replied that they would take the orders of their court.

A variety of other detail involved in the treaty, its annexes, and the transitory article, were then settled.

On the 8th of April there was another sitting, the business of which was opened by the Earl of Clarendon, who announced that Great Britain would immediately revoke all commercial restrictions consequent upon the war.

The electric telegraph had brought the tidings that the czar consented to open the port of Sebastopol to the ships of the allies. It also announced that the withdrawal of the Russian armies from Kars and its vicinity would commence as soon as the ratifications of the treaty of peace were exchanged; this promise Russia did not keep, nor was it the intention of the Russian government honourably to fulfil it.

The sitting on this day was the longest and most discordant of any. Count Walewski delivered an oration, which not only caused a political ferment in the congress, but agitated all Germany and Southern and Western Europe. A history of the conference would be imperfect which did not contain this remarkable speech, which is therefore presented to the reader:—

"Count Walewski says that it is desirable that the plenipotentiaries, before they separate, should interchange their ideas on different subjects which require to be settled, and which it might be advantageous to take up in order to prevent fresh complications. Although spe-

cially assembled for settling the Eastern question, the congress, according to the first plenipotentiary of France, might reproach itself for not having taken advantage of the circumstance which brings together the representatives of the principal powers of Europe, to clear up certain questions, to lay down certain principles, to express intentions—in fine, to make certain declarations, always and solely with the view of insuring the future tranquillity of the world, by dispelling the clouds which are still seen looming on the political horizon before they become menacing.

"It cannot be denied, he says, that Greece is in an abnormal state. The anarchy to which that country was a prey has compelled France and England to send troops to the Piræus at a time when their armies, nevertheless, did not want occupation. The congress knows in what state Greece was; neither is it ignorant that that in which it now is, is far from being satisfactory. Would it not, therefore, be advantageous that the powers represented in the congress should manifest the wish to see the three protecting courts take into serious consideration the deplorable situation of the kingdom which they have created, and devise means to make provision for it?

"Count Walewski does not doubt that the Earl of Clarendon will join with him in declaring that the two governments await with impatience the time when they shall be at liberty to terminate an occupation to which, nevertheless, they are unable, without the most serious inconvenience, to put an end, so long as real modifications shall not be introduced into the state of things in Greece.

"The first plenipotentiary of France then observes that the Pontifical States are equally in an abnormal state; that the necessity for not leaving the country to anarchy had decided France as well as Austria to comply with the demand of the Holy See by causing Rome to be occupied by her troops, while the Austrian troops occupied the legations.

"He states that France had a twofold motive for complying, without hesitation, with the demand of the Holy See—as a Catholic power and as an European power. The title of the eldest son of the Church, which is the boast of the sovereign of France, makes it a duty for the emperor to afford aid and support to the sovereign pontiff; the tranquillity of the Roman States, and that of the whole of Italy, affects too closely the maintenance of social order in Europe for France not to have an overbearing interest in securing it by all the means in her power. But, on the other hand, it is impossible to overlook the abnormal condition of a power which, in order to maintain itself, requires to be supported by foreign troops.

"Count Walewski does not hesitate to declare, and he trusts that Count Buol will join in the declaration, that not only is France ready to withdraw her troops, but that she earnestly desires to recall them so soon as that can be done without inconvenience as regards the internal tranquillity of the country and the authority of the pontifical government, in the prosperity of which the emperor, his august sovereign, takes the most lively interest.

"The first plenipotentiary of France represents how desirable it is for the balance of power in Europe that the Roman government should be consolidated in sufficient strength for the French and Austrian troops to be able, without inconvenience, to evacuate the Pontifical States, and he considers that a wish expressed in this sense might not be without advantage. In any case, he does not doubt that the assurances which might be given by France and Austria as to their real intentions in this respect would have a salutary influence.

"Following up the same order of ideas, Count Walewski asks himself if it is not to be desired that certain governments of the Italian peninsula, by well-devised acts of clemency, and by rallying to themselves minds gone astray and not perverted, should put an end to a system which is directly opposed to its object, and which, instead of reaching the enemies of public order, has the effect of weakening the governments, and of furnishing partisans to popular faction. In his opinion, it would render a signal service to the government of the two Sicilies, as well as to the cause of order in the Italian peninsula, to enlighten that government as to the false course in which it is engaged. He is of opinion that warnings conceived in this sense, and proceeding from the powers represented in the congress, would be the better received by the Neapolitan government, as that government could not doubt the motives which dictated them.

"The first plenipotentiary of France then says that he must call the attention of the congress to a subject which, although more particularly affecting France, is not the less of great interest for all the powers of Europe. He considers it superfluous to state that there are every day printed in Belgium publications the most insulting—the most hostile against France and her government; that revolt and assassination are openly advocated in them; he remarks that quite recently Belgian newspapers have ventured to extol the society called 'La Marianne,' the tendencies and object of which are known; that all these publications are so many implements of war directed against the repose and tranquillity of France by the enemies of social order, who, relying on the impunity which they find under the shelter of the Belgian legislation, retain the

hope of eventually realising their culpable designs.

"Count Walewski declares that the intention and sole desire of the government of the empire is to maintain the best relations with Belgium; he readily adds that France has reason to be satisfied with the Belgian government, and with its efforts to mitigate a state of things which it is unable to alter, its legislation not allowing it either to restrain the excesses of the press, or to take the initiative in a reform which has become absolutely indispensable. We should regret, he says, to be obliged ourselves to make Belgium comprehend the strict necessity for modifying a legislation which does not allow its government to fulfil the first of international duties—that of not assailing, or allowing to be assailed, the internal tranquillity of the neighbouring states. Representations addressed by the stronger to the less strong have too much the appearance of menace, and that is what we desire to avoid. But if the representatives of the great powers of Europe, viewing in the same light with ourselves this necessity, should find it useful to express their opinion in this respect, it is more than probable that the Belgian government, relying upon all reasonable persons in Belgium, would be able to put an end to a state of things which cannot fail, sooner or later, to give rise to difficulties, and even real dangers, which it is the interest of Belgium to avert beforehand.

"Count Walewski proposes to the congress to conclude its work by a declaration which would constitute a remarkable advance in international law, and which would be received by the whole world with a sentiment of lively gratitude.

"The congress of Westphalia, he adds, sanctioned liberty of conscience; the congress of Vienna, the abolition of the slave-trade and the freedom of the navigation of rivers. It would be truly worthy of the congress of Paris to lay down the basis of an uniform maritime law in time of war as regards neutrals. The four following principles would completely effect that object:—

"I. The abolition of privateering;

"II. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods except contraband of war;

"III. Neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture even under enemy's flag;

"IV. Blockades are not binding except in so far as they are effective.

"This would indeed be a glorious result, to which none of us could be indifferent.

"The Earl of Clarendon, sharing the opinions expressed by Count Walewski, declares that, like France, England proposes to recall the troops which she was obliged to send to

Greece so soon as she shall be able to do so without inconvenience to the public tranquillity; but that it is necessary, in the first instance, to provide solid guarantees for the maintenance of a satisfactory state of things. According to him, the protecting powers may agree among themselves upon the remedy which it is indispensable to apply to a system injurious to the country, and which has altogether departed from the object which they had proposed to themselves when establishing there an independent monarchy for the well-being and the prosperity of the Greek people."

The Earl of Clarendon then proceeded in a strain of signal eloquence, and at still greater length than M. Walewski, to discuss the general affairs of Europe. His opinions and those of the first plenipotentiary of France were as nearly identical as possible, except on the subject of the press. The speech of Count Walewski was obviously levelled at the liberty of the press in the only monarchical continental country, with the exception of Norway and Sardinia, where that liberty existed. Belgium was near to France, and its freedom in this respect perpetually vexed the imperious monarch of the Tuileries. The Earl of Clarendon boldly informed the congress that England would take no part in counsels having for their object the suppression of free discussion; at the same time the noble earl denounced the brutal and barbarous principles which were promulgated in the Belgian papers, and which it was erroneously supposed the Belgian government had not constitutionally the power to suppress. As in England, Norway, Switzerland, Sardinia, and the United States, so in Belgium there exists the constitutional power with the executive of punishing incitements to assassination and revolt. The noble representative of England having been much misrepresented in connection with his oration to the congress on this point, a correct report of what he addressed to that body is here both just to him and desirable in itself:—

"As regards the observations offered by Count Walewski on the excesses of the Belgian press, and the dangers which result therefrom for the adjoining countries, the plenipotentiaries of England admit their importance; but as the representatives of a country in which a free and independent press is, so to say, one of the fundamental institutions, they cannot associate themselves to measures of coercion against the press of another state. The first plenipotentiary of Great Britain, while deploring the violence in which certain organs of the Belgian press indulge, does not hesitate to declare that the authors of the execrable doctrines to which Count Walewski alludes—the men who preach assassination as the means of attaining a political object—are undeserv-

ing of the protection which guarantees to the press its liberty and its independence."

The speeches of the first plenipotentiaries of France and England were followed by the expression of the most discordant opinions from the other plenipotentiaries; those of Russia keeping as much as possible out of the hubbub, but slyly accepting whatever tended to annoy Austria or weaken England, as the proposed reconstruction of the law of nations on maritime subjects would in their opinion do. The Austrian ministers attacked the press, and demanded, in fact, the suppression of all unauthorised political and religious discussion in continental Europe. They bitterly replied to the speeches of the ministers of the Western powers on the affairs of Italy, and declined allowing the special character of the congress to be changed into a general congress for settling the affairs of Europe. Count Cavour, on the part of Sardinia, eloquently supported the policy of the Western ministers, and denounced the occupation of Italy by Austria. The Austrian ministers angrily retorted, and betrayed the uttermost vexation and chagrin. The part performed by the Prussian plenipotentiaries was the strangest of all. They sympathised with oppression everywhere, upheld the censorship of the press everywhere; but were of opinion that the congress ought not to interfere to redress any national wrongs except those of Prussia, which were inflicted upon her by the revolutionists of Neufchatel! This complaint nearly disturbed the gravity of the congress; the introduction of an affair so paltry, in connection with subjects of so vast a range and universal consequence, was eminently absurd. The selfishness of Prussia, which refused all co-operation in redressing the wrongs of other nations, but invited all Europe to aid in compelling a few thousand persons in a secluded and out-of-the-way place to submit to her own authority, excited the disgust of all, and the indignation of most of the members of the congress. The King of Prussia gave one more proof that there was no great object with which he could come, in virtue of his position, into any sort of contact, in which he would not degrade his own relation to it by small conceptions and selfish aims. Neither courage, generosity, nor even a great ambition were possible to the man, his court, or his cabinet.

After this most serious *séance* of the congress, Count Walewski, with sufficient accuracy, summed up the results in the following terms:—

"Count Walewski congratulates himself on having induced the plenipotentiaries to interchange their ideas on the questions which have been discussed. He had supposed that it might have been possible, perhaps with advantage, to express themselves in a more complete

manner on some of the subjects which have fixed the attention of the congress. 'But such as it is,' he says, 'the interchange of ideas which has taken place, is not without advantage.'

"The first plenipotentiary of France states that the result of it is, in effect:—

"I. That no one has contested the necessity of seriously deliberating as to the means for improving the situation of Greece, and that the three protecting courts have recognised the importance of coming to an understanding among themselves in this respect.

"II. That the plenipotentiaries of Austria have acceded to the wish expressed by the plenipotentiaries of France for the evacuation of the pontifical states by the French and Austrian troops, as soon as it can be effected without prejudice to the tranquillity of the country and to the consolidation of the authority of the Holy See.

"III. That the greater part of the plenipotentiaries have not questioned the good effect which would result from measures of clemency, opportunely adopted by the governments of the Italian peninsula, and especially by that of the two Sicilies.

"IV. That all the plenipotentiaries, and even those who considered themselves bound to reserve the principle of the liberty of the press, have not hesitated loudly to condemn the excesses in which the Belgian newspapers indulge with impunity, by recognising the necessity of remedying the real inconveniences which result from the uncontrolled licence which is so greatly abused in Belgium.

"That, finally, the reception given by all the plenipotentiaries to the idea of closing their labours by a declaration of principles in the matter of maritime law, must give reason to hope that at the next sitting they will have received from their respective governments authority to adhere to an act which, while completing the work of the congress of Paris, would effect an improvement worthy of our epoch."

On the 14th of April the members of conference again assembled. They agreed on the project of maritime law, which follows this account of their proceedings. The Earl of Clarendon laid before the congress a proposition, recognising, in the case of any difference between the Porte and any of the powers, the principle of arbitration by reference to a state friendly to the disputants. Mr. Cobden, who was so much opposed to Lord Clarendon's policy, ought to have given him credit in this case for adopting the measure of foreign policy to which that gentleman appeared to confine himself. The proposition of Lord Clarendon was advocated by Count Walewski, and opposed by the Austrian plenipotentiaries. The Prussian ministers espoused it. The Russian

envoys, as usual, could say nothing until they referred to their master. The Sardinian representatives inquired if the proposition would apply to armed interventions in the affairs of independent nations, and illustrated their meaning by portraying the conduct of Austria in Italy. Lord Clarendon answered in the affirmative, again supported by the French plenipotentiary. The Austrian ministers denounced those of Sardinia for referring to Austria, and intimated the wish of the kaiser to be untettered by any engagements in his interference with other independent states. The congress were of one view, with the exception of the representatives of Russia, who declined giving any opinion, and of those of Austria, who offered an irritable and undignified opposition.

At this sitting the Declaration of Maritime Law was agreed upon, which was as follows:—

Annex to Protocol No. 23.

DECLARATION.

The plenipotentiaries who signed the treaty of Paris of the thirtieth of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, assembled in conference, considering—

That maritime law, in time of war, has long been the subject of deplorable disputes;

That the uncertainty of the law, and of the duties in such a matter, gives rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents, which may occasion serious difficulties, and even conflicts;

That it is, consequently, advantageous to establish a uniform doctrine on so important a point;

That the plenipotentiaries assembled in congress at Paris cannot better respond to the intentions by which their governments are animated, than by seeking to introduce into international relations fixed principles in this respect;

The above-mentioned plenipotentiaries, being duly authorised, resolved to concert among themselves as to the means of attaining this object; and, having come to an agreement, have adopted the following solemn declaration:—

I. Privateering is, and remains, abolished;

II. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war;

III. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag;

IV. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

The governments of the undersigned plenipotentiaries engage to bring the present declaration to the knowledge of the states which have not taken part in the congress of Paris, and to invite them to accede to it.

Convinced that the maxims which they now proclaim cannot but be received with gratitude by the whole world, the undersigned plenipotentiaries doubt not that the efforts of their governments to obtain the general adoption thereof, will be crowned with full success.

The present declaration is not, and shall not be binding, except between those powers who have acceded, or shall accede to it.

Done at Paris, the sixteenth of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

[The signatures follow.]

The final sitting of the congress was held on April 16th, which, as it concluded the labours of the historical assemblage, is presented to the reader entire. There were present the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey.

"The protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

"Count Orloff announces that he is prepared, in virtue of instructions from his court, to adhere definitively to the wish recorded in the last paragraph but one of the protocol No. 23.

"The draft of declaration annexed to the protocol of the last meeting is read; whereupon, and as they had determined, the plenipotentiaries proceed to the signature of that act.

"On the proposition of Count Walewski, and recognising that it is for the general interest to maintain the indivisibility of the four principles mentioned in the declaration signed this day, the plenipotentiaries agree that the powers which shall have signed it, or which shall have acceded to it, cannot hereafter enter into any arrangement in regard to the application of the right of neutrals in time of war, which does not at the same time rest on the four principles which are the object of the said declaration.

"Upon an observation made by the plenipotentiaries of Russia, the congress admits that as the present resolution cannot have any retro-active effect, it cannot invalidate antecedent conventions.

"Count Orloff proposes to the plenipotentiaries to offer to Count Walewski, before they separate, the thanks of the congress for the manner in which he has guided its labours. 'Count Walewski,' he says, 'at the opening of our first meeting, expressed the wish to see our deliberations result in a happy issue; this wish is realised; and assuredly the spirit of conciliation with which our president has directed our discussions has exercised an influence for which we cannot be too grateful; and I am convinced that I act in accordance with the sentiments of all the plenipotentiaries in requesting Count Walewski to accept the expression of the gratitude of the congress.'

"The Earl of Clarendon supports this propo-

sition, which is accepted with prompt unanimity by all the plenipotentiaries, who determine to make a special mention of it in the protocol.

"Count Walewski replies that he is extremely sensible of the kind manifestation of which he is now the object, and, on his part, eagerly expresses to the plenipotentiaries his gratitude for the indulgence which he has not ceased to receive the proofs during the conferences. He congratulates himself, with them, on having so happily and so completely attained the object proposed for their exertions."

[The signatures follow, as usual.]

Before the congress broke up, the Sardinian ministers addressed to it a memorial on the affairs of Italy, which from some cause, probably from a desire not to offend Austria, the papers laid before parliament, as a report of the proceedings of the congress, did not contain. This document, however, had too much influence upon the combinations formed after the sittings of the congress, and when Russia sought to evade the terms of the treaty, seconded treacherously by the French ministers, not to form a necessary part of any collection of documents published as belonging to the war:—

Sardinian Memorial relating to the Affairs of Italy, addressed to the Governments of England and France, April 16, 1856.

The undersigned, plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, full of confidence in the just sentiments of the governments of France and England, and in the friendship which they profess for Piedmont, have never ceased, since the opening of the conferences, to hope that the congress of Paris would not separate without taking into serious consideration the state of Italy, and deliberating on the means to be adopted for the re-establishment of its political equilibrium, disturbed at present by the occupation of a great part of the peninsula by foreign troops. Certain of the concurrence of their allies, they could not think that any other power, after having testified so lively and so generous an interest in the fate of the Eastern Christians of the Slavonic and Greek races, would refuse to interest themselves in the people of the Latin race, who are still more unhappy by reason that the advanced degree of civilisation which they have attained makes them feel more acutely the effects of bad government.—This hope has been disappointed.

Notwithstanding the good-will of France and England,—notwithstanding their well-intended efforts,—the persistence of Austria obliged the discussions of the congress to be strictly bounded within the sphere of the questions marked out before its meeting, and is the

cause of this assembly, on which the eyes of Europe are fixed, being about to dissolve, not only without having effected the least amelioration for the ills of Italy, but without giving a ray of hope for the future to the nations on the other side of the Alps, calculated to calm their minds and to make them bear the present with resignation.

The peculiar position occupied by Austria in the congress, perhaps rendered this deplorable result inevitable. The undersigned are forced to acknowledge this. Nevertheless, without addressing the least reproach to their allies, they believe it a duty to call their serious attention to the sad consequences that this may have for Europe, for Italy, and especially for Sardinia.

It would be superfluous to trace here an exact picture of the state of Italy. What has taken place in those countries is only too notorious. The system of repression and violent reaction commenced in 1848 and 1849—justified in its origin, perhaps, by the revolutionary disturbances which had shortly before been suppressed—continues without the smallest relaxation. It may even be said that, with few exceptions, it is exercised with redoubled rigour. Never were the prisons and dungeons more full of persons condemned for political causes; never has the number of exiles been greater; never has the police been more vexatious, nor martial law more severely applied. What is taking place at Parma only proves this too clearly. Such a system of government must necessarily keep the populations in a constant state of irritation and revolutionary ferment. This has been the state of Italy for seven years. Nevertheless, the popular agitation appeared recently to be calmed. Italians, seeing one of their national princes coalesced with the great Western powers for the support of the principles of right and justice, and for the amelioration of the fate of their co-religionists in the East, conceived a hope that peace would not be made without some relief for their misfortunes. This hope kept them calm and resigned. But when they know the negative results of the congress of Paris; when they learn that Austria, notwithstanding the good offices and benevolent intervention of France and England, refused all discussion—that she would not even enter into an examination of the means proper for remedying such a sad state of things—there can be no doubt that the dormant irritation will be awakened among them more violently than ever. Convinced that they have nothing to expect from diplomacy and the efforts of the powers which take an interest in their fate, they will throw themselves with southern ardour into the ranks of the revolutionary and subversive party; and Italy will again become a hotbed of conspira-

cies and tumults, which may perhaps be suppressed by redoubled rigour, but which the least European commotion may cause to burst forth in the most violent manner. So sad a state of things, if it merits the attention of the government of France and England, equally interested in the maintenance of order and the regular development of civilisation, must naturally pre-occupy the government of the King of Sardinia in the highest degree. The awakening of revolutionary passions in all the countries surrounding Piedmont, by the effect of causes calculated to excite the most lively popular sympathies, exposes it to dangers of excessive gravity, such as to compromise that firm and moderate policy which has had such happy results for the interior, and gained it the sympathy and esteem of enlightened Europe. But this is not the only danger threatening Sardinia. A still greater is the consequence of the means employed by Austria to repress the revolutionary ferment in Italy. Called by the sovereigns of the small states of Italy, who are powerless, to repress the discontent of their subjects, this power occupies militarily the greater part of the valley of the Po and of Central Italy, and makes its influence felt in an irresistible manner, even in the countries where she has no soldiers. Resting on one side on Ferrara and Bologna, her troops extend themselves to Ancona, the length of the Adriatic, which has become, in a manner, an Austrian lake; on the other, mistress of Piacenza, which, contrary to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the treaties of Vienna, she labours to transform into a first-class fortress; she has a garrison at Parma, and makes dispositions to deploy her forces all along the Sardinian frontier, from the Po to the summit of the Appennines. This permanent occupation by Austria, of territories which do not belong to her, renders her absolute mistress of nearly all Italy, destroys the equilibrium established by the treaty of Vienna (1815), and is a continual menace to Piedmont. Bounded thus on so many sides by Austrian influence,—seeing developed on her eastern frontier, completely open, the forces of a power which she knows to be animated by unfriendly feelings towards her,—this country is held in a state of constant apprehension, which obliges her to remain armed, and to take defensive measures excessively burdensome to her finances, already tasked by the events of 1848 and 1849, and by the war in which she has just participated. The facts thus indicated by the undersigned suffice to render evident the dangers of the position in which the government of the King of Sardinia finds itself placed. Disturbed within by the action of revolutionary passions; excited all round by a system of violent repression and foreign occupation; threatened by the exten-

sion of Austrian power—it may at any moment be forced, by an inevitable necessity, to adopt extreme measures of which it is impossible to calculate the consequences.

The undersigned do not doubt but that such a state of things will excite the solicitude of the governments of France and England, not only on account of the sincere friendship and real sympathies that these powers profess for the sovereign who, alone among all, at the moment when their success was most uncertain, declared himself openly in their favour; but, above all, because it constitutes a real danger for Europe. Sardinia is the only state in Italy that has been able to raise an impassable barrier to the revolutionary spirit, and at the same time remain independent of Austria. It is the counterpoise to her invading influence. If Sardinia succumbed, exhausted of power, abandoned by her allies—if she also was obliged to submit to Austrian domination, then the conquest of Italy, by this power, would be achieved; and Austria, after having obtained, without its costing her the least sacrifice, the immense benefit of the free navigation of the Danube, and the neutralisation of the Black Sea, would acquire a preponderating influence in the West. This is what France and England would never wish—this they will never permit.

In conclusion, the undersigned are convinced that the cabinets of Paris and London, taking into consideration the state of Italy, will decide, in concert with Sardinia, on the means for applying an efficacious remedy.

C. CAVOUR.

PARIS, April 16th, 1856.

DE VILLA-MARINA.

The reception of this memorial, with respect and sympathy, by the allies, by Russia, and by all Europe, except Austria, Prussia, and the Pontiff, was the sole reward of Sardinia for her sacrifices, her courage, and her timely alliance.

It was curious to notice the laudations of the treaty and of the congress by all the sovereigns of Europe, each anxious to make himself appear as having by his wisdom been a victor in the diplomatic competition. The address of the czar to his subjects was a very remarkable composition, and not any more to be commended for its honesty than Russian state papers usually are. He represented the allies as driven from the shores of Siberia, the White Sea, and Finland, which he well knew was a falsehood. The allies spared Helsingfors, and the acknowledgment of the czar was a proclamation to his whole empire that this was attributable to their defeat. He represented the liberty of conscience conceded to the Christians in Turkey as the object his father had in view, when he well knew that his father opposed all liberty

of conscience in Turkey, and thwarted every effort of England and America to secure it: that what he sought was the ascendancy of the Greek rite over that of other Christian communities, and a protection of that Church by himself for his own fanatical and ambitious purposes. He still represented the war as a holy cause, showing his willingness to prosecute it, the unchanged policy of his government, and the unsubdued fanaticism of his sect. Beaten from his aggressive course by sheer force, he proclaimed the issue of peace in terms without dignity or honour, and calculated to leave the exasperations of war both in the hearts of his own people and of his enemies—still regarded by him and his people as such, although no longer in arms against them. The following was the manifesto:—

“The obstinate and sanguinary struggle which for nearly three years has subverted Europe has at last ceased. It was not Russia that commenced it. Even before it broke out my late august father, of imperishable memory, solemnly declared to his faithful subjects, and to all the foreign powers, that the sole object of his desires and of his efforts had been to protect the rights of our co-religionists in the East, and to put an end to the persecutions to which they were subjected.

“A stranger to all interested views, he never expected that his just complaints (*réclamations*) would have resulted in the scourge of war; and, considering its calamities with a deep feeling of sorrow as a Christian, and as the father of the people intrusted by Providence to his care, he did not cease manifesting his inclination in favour of peace. But the negotiations which were opened shortly before his death on the subject of the conditions of that peace, which was a necessity for us all, remained without success.

“The governments which have formed a hostile coalition against us had not discontinued their armaments; pending the negotiations, they had even increased them; the war had to follow its course, and we continued it with a firm hope in the protection of the Most High, and firm confidence in the unshaken devotion of our well-beloved subjects. Our expectations were justified. During that period of hard trials our faithful and brave soldiers, as well as all our people, without distinction of class, proved themselves, as always, worthy of their high calling. Along the whole extent of our empire, from the shores of the Pacific Ocean to the shores of the Baltic and Black Sea, one single idea, one single impulse, animated all, and made them spare neither life nor fortune in the defence of their country. Labourers, leaving the plough and their fields, eagerly took up arms for our holy cause, rival-

ling in courage and self-denial our veteran soldiers. New and striking deeds of renown have marked this last struggle with powerful adversaries.

"The enemy has been driven back from the coasts of Siberia and from those of the White Sea, as well as from the ramparts of Sweaborg; the heroic defence for eleven months of the fortifications of the South side of Sebastopol, erected in the face of and under the fire of the assailants, will be handed down as a record to the remotest period of posterity.

"In Asia, after the glorious victories of the two preceding campaigns, Kars was compelled to surrender with its numerous garrison, forming the whole army of Anatolia, and the *élite* of the Turkish troops sent to relieve the place were compelled to retreat. Nevertheless, by the impenetrable and wise decrees of Providence, a fact was preparing conformable to the wishes of our well-beloved august father, to our own, and to those of all Russia, and which realised the objects of the war. The future condition and the privileges of all the Christians in the East are henceforth guaranteed. The sultan solemnly recognises them, and consequent upon this act of justice, the Ottoman empire enters into the family of European states.

"Russians! your efforts and your sacrifices have not been in vain. A great work has been accomplished, although by other and unforeseen means, and we may now with a quiet conscience put an end to those efforts and to those sacrifices by restoring to our dear country the inestimable blessings of peace. To hasten the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and to dispel, even for the future, the very idea of ambitious views or projects which might be attributed to us, we have consented to the adoption of certain precautionary measures destined to prevent a collision of our ships of war with those of Turkey in the Black Sea, and to the establishment of a new frontier line in the southern part of Bessarabia, nearest to the Danube.

"The concessions are not great when put in comparison with the charges of a prolonged war, and the advantages promised to us by the tranquillity of the empire, the destinies of which it has pleased God to intrust to us. May all those advantages be obtained by our efforts, united to those of all our faithful subjects! May (with the aid of the Almighty, who has always protected Russia) its internal organisation be consolidated and perfected! May justice and clemency preside over its judgments—may the advancement of civilisation and of all useful activity spread with renewed force—and may every one enjoy in peace the fruits of his labour under the protection of laws equally just and watchful for all! Finally,

and this is the most important and most ardent of our hopes—may the salutary light of faith, by enlightening the mind and strengthening the heart, maintain and improve more and more that social morality which is the surest pledge of order and happiness!

"Given at St. Petersburg, the 19th (31st) of March, 1856, and in the second year of our reign.

"ALEXANDER."

In the second week of April the emperor, accompanied by his brothers, visited Moscow. There, in a public speech, he, in the most solemn manner, declared that he knew and approved of his father's motives in initiating the war; that he had, however, obtained by peace all the objects which his father sought under other circumstances by arms—a falsehood, which every Russian must have known to be such if acquainted with the treaty of peace. The speech indicated that Russia was exhausted, while the emperor declared that she could have carried on the war for many years, and was invulnerable on her own territory. The total disregard to truth where a political or fanatical turn was to be served, which characterised the hypocritical speeches and manifestoes of Nicholas, as strongly marked similar effusions on the part of his successor. The citizens of Moscow, through the medium of their Metropolitan, presented him with an address, in which a blasphemous misapplication of Scripture—a common incident on such occasions—was applied to his majesty. No notice was taken of these empty boasts made by the czar, his ministers, his prelates, and his people; so that when the time arrived for exchanging the ratifications at Paris, the work of pacification was completed, and the 27th of April terminated the war. The allies proceeded to carry out the treaty,—the czar and his agents to elude it. When an examination of the line of frontier, requested by Russia and conceded in courtesy by the allies, took place, it was discovered that the Russian plenipotentiaries had practised a disgraceful cheat. The line of frontier still connected itself with the Danube, and Russia contended that she had a right to keep this line, the allies having conceded it—although it was a departure from the very basis of the treaty, and she had obtained the concession by a false representation. She, in like manner, attempted to seize the *Serpent's Island*, which commanded the mouth of the Danube, because it was not named in the treaty, although the basis upon which negotiations were opened was the entire freedom of the Danube from Russian control. Lord Lyons, the British admiral, defeated the latter attempt by securing the island against Russian occupation; and the firmness and wisdom of Lords Palmerston and Clarendon rendered futile the

treacherous projects of Russia on the Danubian frontier. It is to be regretted that in these new complications the ministers of Napoleon sided with the foe, and behaved with as little good faith as the czar himself. Austria and Turkey had both great interests at stake, and gave England a resolute support. The emperor of the French had been absent from his court in comparative retirement, and when these matters were brought more directly under his own consideration, he decided in favour of the views of Lord Palmerston, and insisted upon the due execution of the treaty. Another conference of plenipotentiaries was necessary to regulate these matters, in which the ministers of England, Turkey, and Austria pertinaciously demanded the fulfilment of every treaty stipulation, and wrung from the faithless czar what his own honour should have prevented any attempt to grasp.

Still there were points in which Russian

faithlessness had scope: the state in which the fortresses ceded by Russia on the Danube and at Kars were surrendered was in violation of the letter and spirit of the treaties, and the plainly-expressed and well-understood intention of the contracting parties. Step by step Russia retreated from her original position of injustice and aggression with the uttermost reluctance, and performed no stipulation, whether originated by herself or demanded by others, without struggles to impair its force, or leave some opening for an infraction at some subsequent period. It is to be regretted that the statesmen of France and England generally were not equal to the occasion either in principle or intellectual perspicuity and force; but the English premier and the English foreign minister crowned their names with fadeless honour,—they secured the interests of their country, confirmed a wavering ally, and baffled an unprincipled foe.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

HOME EVENTS BEARING UPON THE WAR FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1856 TO THE RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF PEACE.

"Governments in this country are pretty much what the good sense and the public spirit of the people enable them to be."—THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

THE new year opened in Western Europe upon prospects of peace, which were discussed with doubt and earnestness. The prevailing temper of the English people was to continue the war until a peace should be conquered of a lasting character; but there was no vain-gloriousness—no desire for territory, or for vengeance, or for mere triumph. The people, on the whole, were of opinion that the continuance of the war would be beneficial, as it appeared to them unlikely that Russia would consent to terms of peace which greatly abridged her aggressive power, or deprived her of any of the facilities for future conquest which her peculiar position gave. With the military, and a portion of the people, there was a desire to prolong the war, in the hope that the character for bad military and naval organisation which the country had obtained would be retrieved, and peace and security be thereby maintained, but no voice was raised for the maintenance of protracted warfare for the mere attainment of military glory. All the people desired peace,—unless, perhaps, some young aspirants for promotion in the army,—if that peace could be honourably obtained, and secured with any hope of permanency by the solidity of the basis on which it rested. It was surprising that under such circumstances "the peace party"—as the Society of Friends and a section of the Manchester school of economists were called—should persist in denouncing the

feelings of the people of England as vain-glorious and blood-thirsty, and continue to represent the war as unnecessary, and certain to lead to the destruction of English commerce. Hitherto all the vaticinations of this school had been falsified, and the conclusion of the war more completely showed their absurdity. The terms of peace proposed were such as, by the freedom of the Danube and the neutralisation of the Black Sea, must open new paths to English commerce, and tend to enrich Western and Eastern Europe together. Such were the results; new fields of enterprise were opened, and the general welfare of Europe promoted.

The opinions of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were not those of the people of Manchester, as they were generally supposed to be. Great respect for these two eloquent, useful, and upright men existed, and must ever exist where they are known; nor will remote generations of Englishmen fail to enrol their names on the lists of patriotism and honour, but their views on the subject of "peace at all price" were not shared by the people of Lancashire and Yorkshire so much more than by those of other parts of England, as was generally supposed. An illustration of this occurred in the middle of January at the meeting of the Manchester Commercial Association. On that occasion J. Aspinall Turner, Esq., took the chair, as president of the society, and thus addressed it:—"He felt assured that the members of

this association, while regretting the dire evils of the war in which we were engaged, had been fully sensible of the justice and propriety of this country entering into the contest. The people of Manchester had borne cheerfully the sufferings entailed by the struggle, and he was quite satisfied that if there should exist any necessity for vigorously prosecuting it still further this community would continue to exhibit the same feeling. He sincerely hoped, however, that the present hopes of peace might not prove illusory, and that we should receive back our enemies to terms of friendship, trusting that they would perceive the errors they had committed, and learn that there could be no true course for the security of Europe but that of mutual forbearance and the desire for the prosperity and liberty of other nations as well as their own. The state of mercantile affairs during the past year had not been so disastrous as might naturally have been expected. Although the exports from this country during the past year had not been generally remunerative, this was in some degree mitigated by the generally favourable results of returns; and he believed the merchants, at all events, had not had a very unprofitable year, although in some quarters there might have been difficulties and loss. To our manufacturers he thought the result might have been different, but to the operative classes he believed it had been a comparatively prosperous year, for, although provisions had been high in price, employment had been pretty constant. He then referred to some statistics of the increase of our exports during the last year which recently appeared in the *Economist*, and expressed a hope that any peace which might be concluded would not deprive us of the great advantages that had been gained by the opening of the Black Sea to our commerce."

This temperate and sensible speech was received with loud expressions of approval by the important assembly to which it was delivered. Contrast this address, the truth of which was beyond all doubt, with the orations so vehemently spoken by Mr. Bright to other and less intelligent assemblies, yet possessing also much influence:—"Is it not a singular thing that St. Petersburg, the capital of this barbarous empire, though but a modern city, has a library which, in size, ranks the third in Europe, and is said to contain 10,000 volumes more than the library of the British Museum? Is it not a strange thing that at the southern extremity of this barbarous empire there is a city which some wretched and sanguinary fanatics in this country wish that the allied fleets should utterly destroy—a city the foundations of which were laid but sixty years ago, and which exported to this country in the year 1848—the year of famine in Ireland—

more than 5,300,000 bushels of grain? Surely there is something more and better than barbarism in facts like these; and yet the people of England have been supplied with mental aliment, for two years past or more, full of prejudice, full of exaggeration, and full of falsehood, and the policy they have applauded has been based on misapprehensions of the grossest character." Having drawn a comparison between the United States and England, unfavourable to the government and policy of the latter, Mr. Bright added:—"Pursue the phantom of military glory for ten years, and expend in that time a sum equal to all the visible property of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and then compare yourself with the United States of America, and where will you be? Pauperism, crime, and political anarchy are the legacies we are preparing for our children, and there is no escape for us unless we change our course, and resolve to disconnect ourselves from the policy which tends incessantly to embroil us with the nations of the continent of Europe. It is the object of institutions like this, and of meetings like this, to enable us to inform ourselves on great questions of this nature, and therefore I make no apology for referring to them here."

Concerning the assumed facts in this speech, Mr. Bright himself was guilty of what he so vituperatively charged upon others—"prejudice and exaggeration." We will not add the other epithet adopted by him—"falschood"—for he was as incapable of that as those whom he so wantonly charged with it. But how absurd the strain of argument! Because a library at St. Petersburg contained 10,000 volumes more than the British Museum, *ergo* that city is enlightened, and it is wicked to denounce it as "the capital of a barbarous empire!" Conceding, for argument's sake, the correctness of Mr. Bright's statement—although only for the argument's sake to be conceded—how would the civilisation of that capital, or the just feeling of its population, or the unaggressive character of the government which ruled there, be established by that fact? Mr. Bright, as a Quaker, has no sympathy with the government of Rome, yet he will admit that there is a very splendid library at the Vatican. Mr. Bright, in his time, has said as hard things of Oxford as his political opponents ever said of the condition of St. Petersburg, yet he cannot deny that its collection of books is very splendid. He admits that the library of the British Museum has within 10,000 volumes of the great library at St. Petersburg, yet, according to himself, that was no proof of the civilisation of Englishmen, the prevalent feeling among whom, as proved by their support of the war he denounced as brutal, and the advocates of the war (nineteen-twenty-

tieths of all the educated men in the empire) he denounced as wretched and sanguinary fanatics. Surely he would not refuse the *argumentum ad hominem*, and deny that his own argument was a good one, and if good in its application to Russia, good also in its application to his own country. We are afraid that the word "fanatic" will rather apply to those who import a particular religious dogma into the region of politics, and seek to enforce the peculiarity of a sect upon the political conscience of a people.

The statements of Mr. Bright, as to the ruinous consequences that were about to ensue from the war, met with a quiet and practical contradiction from the speech of the president of the Manchester Commercial Association; and it was a singular fact that, after the war terminated, and when the people of England had opportunity to measure all its consequences—political, commercial, social, and ethical—the people of Manchester ejected Mr. Bright from the representation, and placed in his stead the very man who, in the address quoted above, quietly, unostentatiously, and without abusing those from whom he differed, furnished so complete a confutation of Mr. Bright's theories. That the charity and candour of Mr. Bright might have been greatly improved, in the mode in which he made war himself upon those who differed with him, was painfully obvious; but that the motives of the man were pure was not so well recognised, although all who really knew him were well assured that his vehemence arose from the honest warmth of his nature, and his desire to serve and save his country. The spirit in which the people of England waged the war, consented to peace, insisted upon the execution of its stipulations, and ultimately regarded the whole question, confuted, at every step, the aspersions which Mr. Bright and his more immediate coadjutors cast upon them.

To compare the literary treasures, literary character, or literary freedom of St. Petersburg favourably with the literary claims of London, proved very clearly how religious fanaticism may pervert the judgment of an able man, when applied to matters of public policy. St. Petersburg does not contain free libraries, a free press, or a free people. It was the capital of a barbarous empire—an empire where autocracy in the government and serfdom in the people degraded all; and where a cruel, blind, and persecuting bigotry on the part of the Church, aggravated every other evil to which that empire was subject. Mr. Bright aspersed the people of England in attributing to any party among them a desire to destroy Odessa as a place of commerce;—they questioned the policy of sparing it as a place of arms, a fortified port, a strong garrison, and

a granary forming a depot of military supplies. It was to build up that city in an unjustly acquired prosperity, that the czar closed the Sulina mouth of the Danube; fettered the commerce of that river; thereby impeding the productiveness of Bulgaria and the Dacian provinces of Turkey; and laid the foundation for a war in which he was most righteously chastised. To promote the peace principle, or any principle of either ethics or politics, it is necessary to place in a faithful light the questions argued, and to argue them with respect for the judgment and conscience of those opposed to us in opinion. Mr. Bright failed to do these things, however excellent his motives, and therefore failed, even with the aid of his glowing eloquence, to carry conviction to his country, which rejected his principles, reversed his policy, and outlived his prognostications.

The feeling in France at the opening of the year was, as when the peace congress met at Paris, adverse to the continuance of the war. At the latter period, the *Siècle* described the tone of French opinion correctly, and explained why, from the beginning of the year, such eagerness for peace prevailed in France, until the object was ultimately obtained. The following was the exposition of the policy of the French government and people given by that journal:—"Among other reasons for not wishing to continue the hostilities was this: the campaign of 1856 was to have been essentially a maritime one. England had made unheard-of preparations, which may have been appreciated in the accounts published by the English and French journals; she was about to acquire an enormous preponderance, and, perhaps, a dangerous one. Now, the final act of the congress—the abolition of letters of marque, &c.—proved that Europe is no more prepared to support maritime tyranny than the continental excess of military development. It may, therefore, be assumed that European diplomacy, in its actual desire for peace, displayed its fears of the maritime proportions of England. English diplomatists cannot have mistaken this. It had escaped their attention; the shouts of the London press would have awakened them to the fact. But their shouts did not prevail, and England was compelled to console herself with a review for the impossibility in which she found herself to obtain elevation in a decisive campaign."

Among the home incidents connected with the war, few excited the interest and curiosity of the people of England more than the arrival of trophies from the theatre of contest. Her majesty paid a visit of inspection to some of these at Woolwich, when they were prepared for that purpose. A London journal

made the following announcement:—"The *Bucephalus*, having discharged her cargo, is to be paid out of the transport service. The various trophies which composed her cargo at present occupy a considerable space in the Dial Square in the Arsenal Grounds at Woolwich. The guns and small mortars, which latter consist chiefly of cohorns, and royals of 6 inches and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, as well as many fieldpieces and howitzers, and a number of heavy guns, corresponding with our 68-pounders, are all of very valuable brass metal; but, with their present bore, they are not serviceable for our description of shot. It is conjectured, therefore, that they will be re-cast. The officers and men forming the field-train corps, who were at the siege of Sebastopol, are anxious to wear some particular mark to distinguish them for their services there. They propose for that purpose the melting down one of the large guns, to be converted into small crosses, or other medals, to be distributed solely for the decoration of that corps of her majesty's service thus engaged. The carriages and waggons are of small intrinsic value, most of them being shattered and utterly useless. A wheel of one of the ammunition waggons is covered with Russian blood, having been found embedded among the bodies of several dead soldiers, which were lying with the carcasses of dead horses, &c. Major Lukin, and the men who came in charge of these trophies, have completed their work of mounting the guns and placing every article in a conspicuous position, as her majesty has signified her intention of giving them a personal inspection. Major Lukin waited on Lord Panmure on Saturday, to inform him that everything was prepared for her majesty's visit."

The public discontent with the mismanagement of the war was far from being removed by the administration of Lord Palmerston, notwithstanding the sound views, intellectual vigour, and national sympathies of that nobleman. Murmurs were heard in every circle at the loss of Kars; the cruel manner in which General Williams had been forsaken by every one, except the premier, Lord Clarendon, and Consul Brandt; the inadequate supply of gun and mortar-boats to the Baltic fleet of 1855 (the nation began to think that the deficiency of the fleet in this respect, in 1854, was as much the fault of Sir Charles Napier as of the ministry); the inaction in the Crimea; the promotion of young and inexperienced officers, who had connexions or interest, over the heads of veterans who had earned honours from their country which were never received. These questions were asked everywhere—in the clubs and coffee-houses, in private society and professional coteries—"By what means or influence has the action of the government been

paralysed or greatly impaired? Has Lord Palmerston changed? or has he been all along a political hypocrite, pretending an earnestness in this war which he never felt? or are his projects and orders thwarted or overruled by others?" We endeavoured, at the time, to answer these questions, in a leading article in a journal of the day, which will convey our present impression of the condition and prospects of the government, at the opening of the year 1856, as accurately as it did then:—

"The premier is not supported in any direction where he has a right to look for support. His heart, to use a common expression, 'is in the right place.' He desires to uphold the dignity of the country, and to secure peace. The representations perpetually put forth by the Manchester school, that he is the common disturber of Europe, have no foundation. Had his vigorous policy been pursued, we should have had no war. The truckling, time-serving, and sycophancy to the czar, on the part of the Aberdeen ministry, more especially by its chief, had no countenance from him. Lord Palmerston was one of the Aberdeen coalition cabinet, but he eschewed all interference with their foreign policy, with the administration of which he disagreed, even where he did not dissent from its principle. He kept by the Home-office, the duties of which had never been so well discharged as by him, and he only gave his opinion on foreign matters in the cabinet when emergencies required. His advice was always treated with respect, but never pursued. He reigned absolutely in the Home-office—that was his share in the coalition concern; everybody else connected with it, except, perhaps, Sir William Molesworth, was jealous of his interference in general cabinet questions. Lord John Russell's desire to have him placed as minister of war, in the room of the Duke of Newcastle, was only a piece of policy on the part of that nobleman for his own especial benefit, but not for the honour of Lord Palmerston, nor of the country. When events made Lord Palmerston premier, the queen sent for every one she could think of before he was consulted, although it was very well known that the hope of the nation, in its hour of disgrace and sorrow, rested on him. We do not find fault with the royal lady for this, because she was advised to such a course by the chiefs of all the different parties, and sections of parties, thus brought into consultation with her; and her royal consort, it was notorious, did not agree with Lord Palmerston's bold and English policy, but desired a minister whose leanings and sympathies were, like his own, to the royal houses of Germany. Necessity forced Lord Palmerston upon the court, and he has never had any cordial support from it since. The influence of the English court upon the

French emperor is not favourable. His tardiness in the prosecution of the war; his readiness to receive all sorts of peace overtures, however short of the great requirements of Europe; and his perpetual protection of Austria (for it amounts to that) from the consequences of her treachery, opposition, and selfishness, are due partly to this influence, although the influence of the French superior clergy tends the same way. The policy of the English premier is the policy of the people, but not of the prince. There is here a fruitful source of mischief: men will be emboldened to use their official chances of thwarting even the premier, if they know or suppose that, in doing so, they please a higher power.

"Amongst the members of the aristocracy, Lord Palmerston has some thorough supporters; but generally that element of power is adverse to him. He is not the premier of the House of Lords* any more than of the court. Nor can we say that he is the man of the Commons. But for the pressure from without, that house would speedily abandon him.

"There is sufficient sympathy with the despotisms *versus* free governments and democracies, even there, to extinguish Lord Palmerston's official life, if the fear of the people, and an impending election, did not keep it in awe.†

"In his own cabinet, Lord Palmerston receives no real support. The Duke of Argyll and Lord Panmure hold pretty well with him, but rumour lies more impudently than usual, if he be not indebted to the religious influences of his kinsman, Lord Shaftesbury, for their aid. Lord Panmure is a pure Russellite Whig, and a warm personal friend of Lord John, whose advent to the premiership he would hail with pleasure. The Duke of Argyll is a Peelite, out and out, although an evangelical; and the influence of the Prince over him weakens the influence, above referred to, in Lord Palmerston's favour.

"The Greys and Woods are all opposed to him. They desire the premiership for the head of their house, Earl Grey. The Lord Chancellor is a Peelite, and a Puseyite of the deepest tinge. The Horse Guards is at deadly enmity with the noble premier. He has not a hearty supporter among the whole group of officials and ex-officials, except Lord Clarendon, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Matthew Baines.

"We enter, then, upon the year 1856—a year which opens with negotiations for peace, and preparations for war of the most energetic

* Afterwards that house supported his lordship, when abandoned by the Commons, upon the question of hostilities with China.

† This prediction was fulfilled in 1857, when Lord Palmerston was defeated by Mr. Cobden, on a resolution connected with the Chinese hostilities. Lord Palmerston dissolved parliament, and the people reversed the decision of the House.

order—with a divided cabinet; the premier, and one or two of his under-officials alone in harmony with the people; the Commons cold to him, the court and the Lords hostile. If Lord Palmerston be the people's man, it behoves them to proclaim it on every occasion, and to give him most strenuous support, for his task is herculean, and his enemies in high places, 'legion.' We must expect disasters and disgrace in the year 1856, as in 1854 and 1855, until the premier is surrounded by men of his own opinions, who fear neither court nor clique at home, nor foes abroad."

Whether these speculations concerning 1856 were well founded was happily not tested, the negotiations for peace having, as shown in the previous chapter, been brought to a successful termination; but the state of the public mind, as described in the article which the author has here quoted from himself, continued until the war was over, and retained long after the impressions then so deeply cherished.

Meanwhile numerous changes, which promised to be useful, were effected in the War-office. "Amalgamation of duties and locality is the order of the day," was the expression used by the *United Service Gazette* to describe these administrative alterations. Buckingham House, in Pall Mall, was fitted up for the reception of the accountant's branch of the office, and the remainder of that part of the establishment was accommodated in what had long been the Ordnance-office. Mr. Hawes, the deputy secretary at war, with the chief clerk, and a portion of the establishment not engaged in the financial business of the war department, were in course of removal to Pall Mall. The changes in the *personnel* were extensive, and were made ostensibly to give satisfaction to the public, who took no interest in them, and gave the government no credit for them, and the profession did not appreciate them.

Great activity was displayed in providing warlike *matériel* for the ensuing spring. The principal engineering foundries in Liverpool had the whole of their hands occupied in the manufacture of immense projectiles and enormous pieces of ordnance. At the Mersey Steel and Iron Works a monster wrought-iron gun was manufactured, which weighed twenty-four tons, and was designed to throw a ball of 300 lbs. upwards of five miles! There were also constructed there two wrought-iron mortars, capable of throwing a shell thirty-six inches in diameter. At Messrs. Fawcett and Preston's there was in process of execution an order for ninety mortars, to throw shells of thirteen inches; fifty of these were for the navy, and forty for the army. At the Vauxhall Foundry immense quantities of 8, 10, and 13-inch shells were being constructed. Upwards of 7000 tons of these missiles had been

manufactured there before the close of January, 1856. A considerable number of 10 and 13-inch mortars for the sea-service, and a similar supply for the army ordnance, were in course of manufacture at the same place. The public entertained some curiosity respecting another specimen of manufacturing ingenuity then proceeding there. This consisted of two experimental cast-iron mortars, to throw 18-inch shells, and intended to be called the *Palmerston pacificators*!

The naval architects at the dockyards had so frequently and signally failed in serving the public well, that the government resolved upon employing private enterprise. Mr. John Laird, the eminent shipbuilder, was therefore engaged to fabricate fourteen wooden screw gun-boats, of 240 tons burthen and 60 horse-power each.

These were but specimens of the efforts making to furnish navy and army with resources such as no navy or army in the history of the world had possessed.

From the time the bill passed for enlisting foreign soldiers in the service of her majesty, considerable success attended the recruiting, although the German states threw every obstacle in the way. The United States of America were equally adverse, and serious disputes arose between the two governments, which interrupted diplomatic relations, and brought them to the verge of war. During the month of January and the spring of 1856 the British government continued recruiting and preparing for war, notwithstanding the satisfactory progress of peace negotiations. It was afterwards ascertained that one of the influences most potent in hastening the peace movements of Russia was the monster preparations of England, not only to sustain the struggle, but to bring it to a speedy termination. The Russian government probably supposed that, by accepting the Austrian overtures, the English nation would be lulled into inactivity, and when the time for hostilities should return in the spring, she would be consequently unprepared, as she had been in the previous campaigns, to put forth her strength. Had Lord Aberdeen been premier, the Duke of Newcastle minister of war, Sir James Graham first lord of the Admiralty, and Mr. Gladstone chancellor of the exchequer, these Muscovite speculations would have probably been realised, and the czar would have held his own for another summer, or perhaps have succeeded in fomenting differences between France and England, which, after the ratification of the treaty, he actually in part accomplished. Lord Palmerston determined not to relax his preparations, however promising the peace negotiations, and the people heartily approved and seconded his decision. The Manchester party, aided by the Peelites, denounced

these extensive preparations as a proof of Lord Palmerston's insincerity in treating for peace, and condemned the support given to his lordship by the people, in maintaining this warlike attitude, as a proof of their sanguinary disposition. Had the nation followed these counsellors it would have probably been ruined. Protracted war, exhausting its resources, or a disgraceful peace, leaving Russia mistress of the mouths of the Danube, and of the Black Sea and its tributaries, would have ensued; a peace at once fatal to English influence, injurious to English commerce, and by depriving the nation of moral power abroad, and an attitude of strength for the future, would be perilous to the tranquillity of its foreign relations.

The *Suisse* gave a flattering account of the accessions to the Swiss Legion, and of the qualities of the men who constituted it. The second battalion was completed at the beginning of January by the enlistment of 300 men at Schelestadt. Its colonel, M. Bundi, left Coire to assume the command of the corps, the first battalion of which, commanded by M. Glusbergh, was embarked for Scutari on the 15th of January. Measures were also taken in Switzerland to raise a third battalion. The accounts received from Smyrna, where the first battalion was stationed, gave an excellent view of the health and spirit of the men.

The muster of German auxiliaries at Heligoland was very encouraging. Although it must be confessed that the character of the men, morally, was in every way inferior to that of the Swiss, and in some respects to that of the Italians and Poles; their physical appearance was equal or superior to that of any of the other legions, and they were quite as hearty in the cause. Among the German Legion were, however, many men of respectable position originally, and of respectable education. They were generally rationalists, or followers of Ronge and Czerski, and disaffected to their own governments. A description of Heligoland, the depot for the German and Scandinavian recruits of the Foreign Legion will be more appropriate here than on any other remaining page:—"During the last war Heligoland was a naval station of the British fleet. This small place has become familiar to our ears again as the head-quarters of those hardy volunteers from foreign lands who have joined the fortunes of the Western powers. It is a rocky island, situated twenty-eight miles from the mouth of the Elbe, in the North Sea. It has a coast like that of England, but is only one mile and a quarter long, and half a mile broad. It has a few sand-banks and rocks around. Little as it is on the map of the world, it is at present a very useful colony of Great Britain. It was once the seat of the worship of

a Saxon deity, whose name was Phoreta. It was then larger; the sea has reduced its limits. It was taken by us from the Danes in 1807, after only one century of possession by them. We made it a smuggling depot during the war. It has an upper and lower town. The higher part is the official city; below reside the fishermen in huts. The number of inhabitants is about 2000; they are pilots and fishermen. The women cultivate the arid soil, and tend a few sheep. It is also popular as a bathing-place, but now is turned into a military depot. It is easily defended; a few fortifications will make it impregnable. Great difficulties are experienced in collecting recruits, not from the unwillingness of thousands to enlist, but from the opposition of all the governments of Europe. Even in America the recruiting sergeants are under great disadvantages. They are compelled to resort to all kinds of tricks. One or two, both in Prussia and elsewhere, opened offices, thereby incurring heavy penalties. Still the work goes on, and several companies are already quite fit for active service. They arrive from all parts in considerable numbers. They are very fine young men, and appear full of ardour. Their officers are many of them men of eminence. Several gentlemen of good position have entered the ranks. One man of fortune has done so; he aims probably at obtaining rank and honour by his own good sword. The English government has done its duty by supplying them amply with salt beef, fish, bread, huts, blankets, and all other necessities. The result is seen in the detachment of 900 recently reviewed in this country—their appearance was soldierly in the extreme.”

On the 24th of January the English Order of the Bath was conferred upon a number of distinguished French officers in Paris, under circumstances most pleasing and auspicious. The *Moniteur* of the 25th presented the affair from a French point of view. It will interest our readers to notice how the French press regarded the incident:—

“A most interesting ceremony took place yesterday at the English embassy. The Order of the Bath was conferred upon a number of general and superior officers of the French army, who, in the Eastern war, had deserved that high distinction, which can only be obtained, according to the statutes of the order, for eminent services rendered to England.

“Generals Bosquet and Regnaud de St. Jean Angély received the Grand Cross of the Order; Generals Niel, de Martimprey, Mellinet, Dalesme, were appointed Knights Commanders; Generals Espinasse, de Beville, Cler, Manèque, and Colonels Comignan, de Rochebounet, Reilles, and others, were appointed Knights Companions.

“Conformably to the statutes, the members

of the order present at Paris were assembled; in addition to a number of English general officers, the three Grand Crosses conferred by the queen's own hand during her visit at Paris—His Imperial Highness Prince Napoleon, Marshal Vaillant, and General Canrobert—were present.

“At half-past six the ceremony took place with that peculiar pomp attached to the ancient institutions of England, which was heightened still more by the recollection of the recent great acts accomplished, and by the presence of so many illustrious personages, many of whose wounds are not yet healed. All the members already decorated wore the insignia of the order.

“Lord Cowley, the English ambassador, having his Imperial Highness Prince Napoleon on his right, performed the act of investiture under a dais surmounted by the arms of the Queen of England, and wearing the grand collar and cloak of the order.

“Having read the different letters patent of the queen, he handed the insignia to each of the new knights, led up to him by two introducers. His excellency then made a short speech, recalling the glorious titles the new members of the order had to the favour of the queen and to the gratitude of England. Lord Cowley expressed the pleasure it would have afforded the queen to have performed the ceremony of investiture in person, and concluded by wishing them, according to custom, a long and prosperous life, which would enable them to enjoy the honours conferred upon them.

“Immediately after the ceremony the banquet-hall was thrown open; places were arranged for all the guests. His imperial highness sat opposite the ambassador, with Lady Cowley on his right hand. At dessert the English ambassador proposed the ‘Health of the Emperor of the French.’

“Prince Napoleon replied as follows:—

“‘My Lord and Gentlemen,—I propose to you the “Health of Her Majesty the Queen of England.” In the name of my comrades of the army of the East, I thank her majesty for the high distinction which she has deigned to confer upon us; if, in our devotion to the most just of causes, for which we have fought and triumphed, we stood in need of an encouragement and a recompence, we should find them in the striking proof of the favour of an august sovereign and of the gratitude of a great people our ally. “In the name of the Army, to the Queen of England!”’

“Lord Cowley then proposed toasts to the French army and navy, and Count Walewski proposed the ‘Health of the Army and Navy of England.’

"In conclusion, the English ambassador proposed a final toast as most opportune and important in the present state of affairs—a toast to the speedy conclusion of peace, to the legitimate hope which the new negotiations gave to the allies, and in particular to the English people, to see finally a termination of the evils of war—evils (added his excellency) the full extent of which the illustrious soldiers here present are able to appreciate, as they were spectators, and many of their glorious comrades victims, thereof.

"This *fête*, so complete, is another link between the two armies and the two people; it is of a nature, from the recollections it will leave among eminent men who have received such high marks of the favour of Queen Victoria, to cement the alliance of the two great Western powers, upon which the future destiny of the civilised world rests."

At the latter end of January and in February a series of public entertainments were given in Hampshire and London to Sir Edmund Lyons, the commander of the Black Sea fleet, in which the gallant admiral held up to public approbation the names of various officers, such as Welsford and Hancock, who fell in the public service. Admiral Lyons informed one of these meetings that he had learned a few days before, from General Niel, at Paris, how it was that the French, when in possession of the Malakoff at the final storming of Sebastopol, did not bring its guns to bear upon the Russians, and prevent them from pouring their reserves into the Redan to overwhelm the English. General Niel informed the admiral that when the French made their unsuccessful attack on the 18th of June, it was discovered afterwards that they had only spiked the enemy's guns imperfectly, which were turned upon the French in their retreat. A more positive order, therefore, was issued as to the spiking of the guns on the 8th of September. When the French surprised the place, they instantly executed this order, and so effectually, that the guns which enfiladed the intervening space between Sebastopol and the Redan could do no harm to the Russians, who were pouring their masses into the rear of the Redan. This revelation excited much attention, and no small amount of comment upon the generalship of our ally. Admiral Lyons also declared that the French never could have sapped so near to the Malakoff, if the English batteries had not protected their works.

On the last day of January the British parliament re-assembled. The public were impatient for this event, especially those who had least confidence in the government, and were, at the same time, averse to a "patched-up" treaty with Russia. It was supposed by them that while parliament was sitting, a

sacrifice of the national honour was less likely than if the government acted without such control. The assemblage of ladies on this august occasion was very great; it was attended by the pomp and state customary on such occasions. The queen arrived, the usual formalities were gone through, and "the speech," which was destined to make so great a sensation throughout the world, was delivered. Her majesty, who reads so well, never read better, and the foreign ambassadors present, as well as her own subjects, were charmed by the sweet intonations of her voice, and singularly agreeable and effective diction. The speech was as follows:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—Since the close of the last session of parliament the arms of the allies have achieved a signal and important success. Sebastopol, the great stronghold of Russia in the Black Sea, has yielded to the persevering constancy and to the daring bravery of the allied forces.

"The naval and military preparations for the ensuing year have necessarily occupied my serious attention; but, while determined to omit no effort which could give vigour to the operations of the war, I have deemed it my duty not to decline any overtures which might reasonably afford a prospect of a safe and honourable peace. Accordingly, when the Emperor of Austria lately offered to myself and to my august ally, the Emperor of the French, to employ his good offices with the Emperor of Russia, with a view to endeavour to bring about an amicable adjustment of the matters at issue between the contending powers, I consented, in concert with my allies, to accept the offer thus made, and I have the satisfaction to inform you that certain conditions have been agreed upon, which I hope may prove the foundation of a general treaty of peace.

"Negotiations for such a treaty will shortly be opened at Paris.

"In conducting those negotiations I shall be careful not to lose sight of the objects for which the war was undertaken; and I shall deem it right in no degree to relax my naval and military preparations until a satisfactory treaty of peace shall have been concluded.

"Although the war in which I am engaged was brought on by events in the south of Europe, my attention has not been withdrawn from the state of things in the north, and, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, I have concluded with the King of Sweden and Norway a treaty containing defensive engagements applicable to his dominions, and tending to the preservation of the balance of power in that part of Europe.

"I have also concluded a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with the Re-

public of Chili. I have given directions that these treaties shall be laid before you.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—The estimates for the ensuing year will be laid before you. You will find them framed in such a manner as to provide for the exigencies of war, if peace should unfortunately not be concluded.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—It is gratifying to me to observe that, notwithstanding the pressure of the war, and the burdens and sacrifices which it has unavoidably imposed upon my people, the resources of my empire remain unimpaired. I rely with confidence on the manly spirit and enlightened patriotism of my loyal subjects for a continuance of that support which they have so nobly afforded me, and they may be assured that I shall not call upon them for exertions beyond what may be required by a due regard for the great interests, the honour, and the dignity of the empire.

"There are many subjects connected with internal improvement which I recommend to your attentive consideration.

"The difference which exists in several important particulars between the commercial laws of Scotland and those of the other parts of the United Kingdom has occasioned inconvenience to a large portion of my subjects engaged in trade. Measures will be proposed to you for remedying this evil.

"Measures will also be proposed to you for improving the laws relating to partnership, by simplifying those laws, and thus rendering more easy the employment of capital in commerce.

"The system under which merchant shipping is liable to pay local dues and passing tolls has been the subject of much complaint. Measures will be proposed to you for affording relief in regard to those matters.

"Other important measures for improving the law in Great Britain and in Ireland will be proposed to you, which will, I doubt not, receive your attentive consideration.

"Upon these and all other matters upon which you may deliberate, I fervently pray that the blessing of Divine Providence may favour your councils, and guide them to the promotion of the great object of my unvarying solicitude—the welfare and the happiness of my people."

At the close of the speech, which was listened to in breathless silence, her majesty withdrew from the house and returned to Buckingham Palace, with the same ceremonial observances as had marked her advent. She wore a magnificent white satin dress, brocaded with gold, and over it the purple robe of state, with its

ample train borne by pages; her head was surmounted by a magnificent tiara of diamonds. The halls and corridors leading from the royal entrance to the house were filled with spectators, who rose to receive her at her coming, and as she retired. Their lordships re-assembled at five o'clock, when there was a full attendance. The ministerial bench was occupied by the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Clarendon, Earl Granville, Lord Panmure, and the Earl of Harrowby; Earl Grey, the Earl of Aberdeen, and the Duke of Newcastle, taking up their usual position on the ministerial side of the house. Among the other peers present were observed the Earl of Derby, Lord Lyndhurst, the Earl of Malmesbury, Lord Campbell, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Oxford, Lord St. Leonards, Lord Redesdale, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl of Hardwicke, the Earl of Eglinton, Lord Montague, the Earl of Albemarle, the Earl of Cardigan, &c. Her majesty's gracious speech having been read by the lord chancellor, and afterwards by the reading clerk at the table, the Earl of Gosford rose to move that a humble address be presented to her majesty, in reply to her majesty's most gracious speech from the throne. The Earl of Abingdon seconded the proposal in a speech succinct and clear, and marked by its good sense, and its just advocacy of the efforts of her majesty's government to bring about a peace, solid, honourable, and lasting. The Earl of Derby spoke in opposition. He animadverted with justice upon the feeble modicum of praise dealt out to the noble army which fought in the Crimea. In one of his most happy and eloquent bursts of oratory, he thus referred to the conduct of the queen to her soldiers, and to the heroism and sufferings of the British officers at Kars:—"The present, however, is an occasion on which the sovereign, in the presence of her assembled parliament, ought to perform—and would have performed, had she been left to the promptings of her own heart—the pleasing task of declaring her gratitude—her unbounded gratitude—for the exertions, and her sympathy with the sufferings of those brave men to whom this country is indebted for the success which has been achieved. My lords, who has not watched with admiration the personal course which her majesty has pursued—the warm, kindly, and womanly sympathy she has shown for the sufferings of her wounded soldiers? Who that has beheld her decorating the survivors, with her own hands, with those marks of honour which acquire a double value from being thus conferred; who that has heard of her watching by the sick beds of the wounded, speaking to them of their private and individual sufferings, and cheering them with words which from any one would carry comfort and consolation, but

which, from the lips of the sovereign, must gratify the pride of those to whom they are addressed, and excite feelings of the most loyal devotion; who that has observed the language, the demeanour, and the actions of the sovereign towards her soldiers will believe that, had her majesty been left to the promptings of her own heart, and the expression of her own feelings, the language of the speech would have been thus cold? Having offered so scanty a measure of praise to the heroes who bled before Sebastopol, it does not surprise me that her majesty's government should have found no language in which to record the matchless endurance and indomitable gallantry of those brave men who, in a distant and deserted Asiatic town, maintained so well and so nobly the honour of the English arms, and showed in so signal a manner what British officers can achieve when in command of foreign troops. My lords, are there not those whom a word of praise and of sympathy might have cheered in the depth of those prisons to which their gallantry has consigned them—might have given them fresh courage to support their sufferings and their misfortunes, and proved to them that their exertions and their hardships had not been undergone in the service of an ungrateful country? Such words, coming from their sovereign in the presence of her assembled parliament, would carry with them a weight which can accompany the language of no other individual. Yet, standing in this place, and feeling that my words may possibly reach the prisons to which they have been doomed by a not ungenerous enemy, I would say to those gallant spirits—to a Williams, a Teesdale, a Lake, and a Thompson—'You may rest assured that this house and the country deeply sympathise with you in your misfortunes—that we honour the valour and prize the fame of the brave defenders of Kars as not below those of the more fortunate conquerors at Sebastopol.' I am not surprised that there should rise a blush of shame on the cheek of the minister, or that he should hesitate and be paralysed, when about to inscribe in the queen's speech the insignificant name of Kars!—a name of everlasting triumph and distinction to the valiant souls who, amid all the horrors of famine, and hemmed in on all sides by an overpowering force, gallantly repulsed their enemy, on whom they inflicted a loss almost exceeding the carnage of any battle of modern times, and who, despite of every discouragement, maintained their high spirit, and achieved victory after victory, until finally compelled to yield, not to the overwhelming numbers of the foe, but to the still more unconquerable force of sheer famine. The name of Kars, then, will be remembered to the immortal honour of its defenders; and let me add that its name also

confers no slight degree of honour and credit on the conqueror of those brave men, who, in the generous terms of capitulation which he granted, showed that he knew how to appreciate an enemy's valour and fortitude, even when unavailing. Fortunate, indeed, was it for the gallant garrison of Kars that they had to deal with a Mouravieff, and not with a Coronini. Fortunate was it for the brave Poles and Hungarians who formed part of that undaunted garrison, that the chivalrous spirit of their high-minded conqueror suffered them to go free, without incurring those additional dangers to which, as other than mere prisoners of war, they might have been exposed. Well was it for them that he was not one of those who would seek to strain the law of nations for the purpose at once of insulting an ally and trampling on the misfortunes of an exile. Yet, my lords, if on the conqueror of Kars, and still more, on its heroic defenders, the name of that fortress reflects imperishable renown, I must say, with deep regret, that it is equally a name of eternal reproach and shame to those, be they who they may, by whom this devoted band was left without support and without relief, and this important town allowed to fall unsuccoured, and even unavenged."

His lordship then demanded whether a report, much in circulation, were true, that the French government opposed all efforts to relieve Kars from jealousy of the Asiatic influence of England. Lord Clarendon replied with his usual discretion and tact, showing that the government had endeavoured early in the campaign in vain to direct the attention of the Turkish government to the exigencies of Asia Minor. His lordship feebly defended the French government, stating no doubt what was the fact, that that government raised no objection to English influence in Asia, and exhibited no jealousy of it; but he admitted that the French press did, declaring that to direct troops into Asia would promote the exclusive influence of England, and be a waste of French blood. It was plain from the tone of his lordship's defence of the French government, that he was not satisfied with its conduct. It was well known that, bound down by the censorship, the press of France dare not express opinions adverse to the government. It was in this respect a reflex of the court and cabinet. France was so far untrue to the alliance as to care only for her own glory in the war, without any generous and noble jealousy for the glory of her ally, or any desire to weaken Russia, or repress her aggressive spirit and power, further than the interests of France alone might demand. The addresses in the Houses of Lords and Commons were finally carried, affording no advantage to the opposition, except that of oratorical display.

In a previous chapter an account was given of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the army in the Crimea. These commissioners left London on the 23rd of February, 1855, and arrived at Constantinople, where they began their inquisition, proceeding thence to the Crimea, and conducting there such examinations into the state of affairs as their instructions, the power committed to them, and the bitter opposition of the Crimean authorities allowed. Their report was dated the 10th of June, 1855, but the ministry were unwilling to publish it until, in the February of 1856, the proceedings in Parliament, the exciting appeals of the press, and the demands of the people compelled its production. Although the report was drawn up with great caution, it inculcated various personages, such as Commissary-general Filder, Quartermaster-general Airey, his deputy, Colonel Gordon, and the cavalry generals, the Earl of Lucan and the Earl of Cardigan. All these officers complained of this report, and demanded such an investigation as would re-open the whole inquiry. The Earls of Lucan and Cardigan naturally complained that they had left the Crimea before the commissioners arrived there, and had no opportunity to answer for themselves. Both these noble lords addressed their peers in parliament in connection with the subject, denying the allegations of the report. The Earl of Cardigan addressed an able defence of his conduct to Lord Panmure, which influenced the public mind considerably in his favour, as many of the disasters attributed to his lordship's mismanagement by public opinion had not occurred during his service with the light brigade.* Lord Lucan had undoubtedly left the Crimea when various transactions happened for which the public opinion made him responsible. Both these noblemen were sought to be made the victims of public prejudice, and it is certain that their absence was taken advantage of to throw upon them imputations which ought to have rested elsewhere. Both officers were good judges of horses and the management of horses. Wilkins, the celebrated veterinary surgeon, attained his fame as a *protégé* of Lord Lucan. When his lordship commanded the 17th Lancers, he gave an extra price from his own pocket for good horses; and for three years, namely, from 1829 to 1831, not a horse of that regiment died of disease. At that time there was "a horse-fund" in the regiment for the very purpose of

securing good animals. His lordship was a constant frequenter of Ballinasloe Fair (as gentlemen in the west of Ireland well know), for the purpose of procuring excellent horses for his regiment. A work lately published, "The Divisional Orders of Lord Lucan while in charge of the Cavalry in the Crimea," has certainly changed in several respects the author's opinion on this subject. In that book there are no less than seventy-two orders (a large proportion of the whole) on the care of horses.

The government announced its intention to appoint a board of general officers to hear the explanations of those upon whom the report had thrown reflections. This excited general dissatisfaction, and Mr. Roebuck, on the 29th of February, moved a resolution in the Commons declaring such a board inefficient, and the object in appointing it unfaithful. After a fierce hubbub, "the mountain in labour brought forth a mouse;"—Mr. Roebuck withdrew his motion.

Having introduced the subject of the appointment of a board for investigating the report of the Crimean commissioners, it is desirable, in order to maintain continuity of subject, to anticipate what a strict consecutiveness of dates would bring into later pages. Very general censure fell upon the Earls of Lucan and Cardigan, Sir Richard Airey, and Colonel Gordon, for demanding a public inquiry. Many of their own friends considered it imprudent to "stir up" the matter again. It was, however, impossible for these officers to remain under the grave imputations cast upon them; had it been otherwise possible, the tone taken by the press throughout the three kingdoms would have compelled them to desire the ordination of some tribunal before which to make their defence. The *Times*, the great leader of British journals, and by which public opinion is so much influenced, thus thundered forth its demands for a searching scrutiny of the whole case:—"The publication of the Crimean report has at least had the effect of convincing the accused Crimean officers that some explanation of their conduct during the period of their command is expected from them. In this report certain specific charges are made against many officers—among others, against the Earl of Lucan, the Earl of Cardigan, Sir Richard Airey, and Colonel Gordon. The representations made by ministers in the two Houses of Parliament in palliation of the conduct of their chief military agents are now proved to have been totally untrue. The fatuous gossip of 'good society,' and of the fierce old gentlemen in the clubs, has been duly weighed in the balance, and may now be estimated at its proper worth. The fact simply is, that between them the chief English officers in the Crimea destroyed one-third of the army

* In a previous page it was stated that the cavalry deteriorated after the death of Captain Nolan. The allegations made to the author to this effect were by persons who ought to have known, but who, for some reason, exaggerated the influence of the captain with Lord Raglan in reference to the cavalry. We have reason to know that Lord Raglan interfered very little with the cavalry, either before or after Captain Nolan's death.

committed to their care. Three-fourths of the misery, and starvation, and suffering from cold and want of clothing, to make no mention of the absolute annihilation of our splendid cavalry, must be referred to the gross incapacity of the officers in chief command. These gentlemen are now strutting about our streets with all the halo of heroism around their heads; they are receiving rewards from foreign sovereigns; they are promoted to honours and dignities at home, as though they had not done sufficient mischief in the East, and as if the past were to be slurred over and forgotten. The report of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch has fallen like a Russian shell in the midst of these dreamers, and they appear to be at last convinced that a day of reckoning has come, which they cannot evade. This report—this official report, set on foot by the government, and conducted by the agents of the government—must receive the amplest consideration, and every officer whose conduct has been therein impugned must be brought to the most exact account.” Again, the same organ of public opinion, with bold vehemence insisted upon a further and searching scrutiny into the conduct of these officers:—“The peers who took share in the debate last night appear to have, as it were, an inkling of this great truth, but they understand so little the gravity of the position that they fancy a few formal declarations and formal vouchers will be sufficient to satisfy the public. This is not so. By all means, if the Earls of Lucan and Cardigan, if Sir Richard Airey and Colonel Gordon, are falsely accused, let Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, and all the officers and soldiers they examined be covered with confusion. If, on the other hand, they are proved guilty of negligence, of incapacity, of gross unfitness for command,—if it can be shown that the greatest share of the destruction which fell upon the British army before Sebastopol was due to their unofficer-like administration of their important trust, by the consequences they must abide. Fair play for all. But there is fair play for the dead as well as for the living. The blood of 10,000 gallant veterans—the flower of the English army—as true heroes as Lord Lucan or Lord Cardigan, or as Sir R. Airey or Colonel Gordon, cries from the ground for justice. Lord Cardigan gave notice to the secretary of the War Department, ‘That, having been reflected upon in, as he considered, a very unfair manner in the report of a commission appointed by her majesty’s government to inquire into the conduct of the war in the Crimea, he should feel it his duty to-morrow to transmit to the noble lord a full explanation of his conduct as animadverted upon in that “report.”’ There is no objection to this step, as far as it goes, but what is the court of in-

quiry to which he appeals? Clearly the military authorities, who with this report before them—for they had it in July last—have heaped honours on the officers accused, do not constitute a tribunal in which the country will have confidence. Lord Lucan, for his part, has written a letter to the secretary of state, in which he contradicts ‘in a most positive manner every part of the report.’ In other words, he pleads ‘Not guilty’ to the charge against him: but where is the judge? where are the jury? Surely the bare denial of Lord Lucan is no answer to the solemn report of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, resting as it does upon the testimony of witnesses whose names are given, and whose evidence is printed? Lord Panmure rose after the two officers accused in the character of the *‘avvocato del diavolo’*;—he was sure, for his part, that the commissioners had not the slightest intention of attacking the character of the noble earls; and, on the whole, he was for treating the popular clamour with suitable contempt. Lord Derby, who followed, with characteristic boldness harped upon the theme, ‘Are the two lords accused to have an opportunity offered to them for making a public defence?’ By all means. They are most fully entitled to a patient and careful hearing, and, if they can succeed in setting aside the evidence of the witnesses against them, to a full and decisive acquittal. For their own sakes, if they hold themselves free from blame, they will urge forward such a measure, and they will without doubt meet with every facility for carrying their purpose into effect.”

It is obvious that no men in the position of the officers thus arraigned could sit down quietly under such heavy charges; their demand, therefore, for a military commission, or other military tribunal, before which they might answer those impeachments, was an act of duty required by regard for their own honour, and not the rash “madcap” proceeding of injudicious and fiery-tempered men, as a large portion of the press and the public were disposed to call it.

It was not until the 3rd of April that the opportunity was afforded to the accused officers for their vindication. Illness on the part of several members of the commission, and a reluctance on the part of Lord Hardinge, the commander-in-chief, to allow the inquiry to come on at all, prevented an earlier sitting. The hall of Chelsea Hospital was fitted up for the occasion. The size of the hall, and the general arrangements, appeared to the author of this History inadequate. Great crowds attended; and many ladies of rank took a deep interest in the transactions, which they evinced not only by their presence but their manner.

The proceedings of the commission at its opening were as follow :—

The military commissioners, who were in full uniform, wearing the insignia of the various orders of which they are members, were General Sir Alexander Woodford, G.C.B., and G.C.M.G., General Earl Beauchamp, General Sir George Berkeley, K.C.B., Lieutenant-general Sir John Bell, K.C.B., Lieutenant-general Sir W. Rowan, C.B., Major-general Peel, M.P., and Major-general Knollys.

Mr. C. P. Villiers, M.P., attended as Judge-advocate-general, and Colonel Douglas represented the adjutant-general's department; Lieutenant-colonel Bagot officiated as secretary to the board.

The proceedings were opened by the judge-advocate-general reading the original royal warrant of the 25th of February, instituting the board, during which all the members of the court remained standing.

The judge-advocate then read successively the warrants substituting Sir Alexander Woodford for Lord Seaton, and Sir George Berkeley for Sir Thomas M'Mahon.

The members of the court having taken their seats,

The JUDGE-ADVOCATE said,—Since receiving the first royal warrant appointing this board, and stating the proper matters to be inquired into, a letter has been addressed to the commander-in-chief by the minister of war, containing further directions as to the matters to be heard by this court, which I will read :—

War Department, February 28.

“MY LORD,—I am to signify to your lordship that the queen has been pleased to appoint a board of general officers, which should be convened as soon as possible, for the purpose of taking into consideration so much of the *Reports on the Supplies to the British Army in the Crimea*, lately presented by her majesty's commands to both Houses of Parliament, as animadvert upon the conduct of certain officers upon her majesty's general staff and her majesty's army.

“It is considered that such a board will best bring before the queen the explanations which these officers are desirous to make of their conduct as affected by the said reports, and ultimately lead to a just judgment thereon.

“I am further to state to your lordship the importance of giving to this inquiry every degree of solemnity and publicity which usage and precedent have in like cases admitted of, and that the judge-advocate-general be specially instructed to convey to the board her majesty's commands, not only to report an opinion upon the matters referred to them, but also to submit to her majesty what it may be in their judgment best to be done thereon.

“Your lordship will be pleased to receive her majesty's pleasure with respect to the proper measures for carrying these her majesty's commands into execution.

“I have, &c.,

“PANMURE.”

Field-marshal Viscount Hardinge, G.C.B., &c.

The PRESIDENT.—Can you furnish us with the names of the officers who are referred to in the warrant as being desirous of making statements to us?

The JUDGE-ADVOCATE.—After receiving the warrant, I made application to the field-marshal commanding-in-chief, in order to ascertain who were the officers referred to in the warrant, as having been animadverted upon in the report and evidence of the Crimean commissioners, and on the 15th of March I received the following letter from General Yorke :—

Horse Guards, March 15.

“SIR,—Having submitted to the field-marshal commanding-in-chief your letter of this date, requesting to be officially informed of the names of the officers referred to in the royal warrant of the 25th ultimo, whose conduct has been animadverted upon in the reports of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, and the evidence taken before those commissioners, and who have in consequence demanded a full inquiry into their conduct, I am directed to acquaint you that the names of the officers referred to are Major-general the Earl of Lucan, K.C.B., Major-general the Earl of Cardigan, K.C.B., Major-general Sir Richard Airey, K.C.B., Quartermaster-general, Colonel the Hon. Alexander Gordon, C.B. (Grenadier Guards), Deputy-quartermaster-general.

“I have, &c.,

“C. YORKE.”

PRESIDENT.—Will you read the rules by which our proceedings will be regulated?

The judge-advocate read the following :—

Rules for the Conduct of the Proceedings before the Board of General Officers appointed by the Royal Warrant, dated the 25th of February.

“1. The proceedings of this board will be conducted as nearly as possible in accordance with the practice of ordinary military courts of inquiry.

“2. Evidence may be given before the board, either in the form of written statements to be read out to the board by the parties tendering such statements, or by the oral examination of witnesses, conducted as nearly as possible in accordance with the ordinary military practice.

“3. This board is not empowered to examine witnesses on oath.

“4. Every military witness will be informed that he is at liberty to decline making

any statement which may form the subject of a charge against him before a court-martial, and that any statement which he may make after being so cautioned will be admissible in evidence against him.

"5. The cases of the several parties who are considered to have a right to appear before the board will be taken separately."

After resolving to give notice to the *Crimean* commissioners (McNeill and Tulloch), the assembly adjourned.

The board sat on twenty-three occasions for the purpose of pursuing its inquiries. On the 7th of April it met a second time. It was resolved that the Earl of Lucan should first be heard, and the judge-advocate accordingly requested him to state by what part of the report of Sir J. McNeill and Colonel Tulloch he considered himself aggrieved. The noble earl declared that the whole of the report drawn up by those gentlemen was at variance with the facts. Whether that arose from any defect on the part of the gentlemen who conducted the inquiry, or from the unfaithfulness of those who gave them the erroneous information, was not a matter for the noble earl's consideration; he arraigned the accuracy of their statements, however that inaccuracy might have arisen. On the 8th and 9th the noble earl continued his defence. Some of the statements made by his lordship on that day produced a very favourable impression in the minds of his auditors, and led a large portion of the public to believe that he had been "more sinned against than sinning." No one doubted the fidelity of Colonel Tulloch and Sir John McNeill, and all concurred that the command-in-chief in the Crimea and at home, with the management of the War-office and the Admiralty, were such as to cause the evils, the full blame of which it was desired by some to throw upon the generals of cavalry. A popular illustrated journal, by no means favourable to Lord Lucan, thus expresses what the public to a large extent thought and felt:—"A man who should undertake to settle all the controversies arising out of the evidence taken by the board sitting at Chelsea Hospital would find his hands full enough. Lord Lucan delivered an elaborate address on Monday last, in which he accused the commissioners, Tulloch and McNeill, of error in the number of horses lost—of stating the facts about transport horses unfairly—of confounding, in their report, putting for horses with putting for men. He accused Filder of feeding the baggage animals first. He further attributed all the disasters to 'the circumstances in which we were placed, and orders to which we owed submission.' The last clause is significant, and would seem to point to Lord Raglan. Before the 16th of December Lord

Raglan had called upon him 'for 500 effective horses for transport service.' This gives a miserable idea of the state of things in the camp. It was not cavalry's work. The men hated it; the horses died at it. By the middle of January the state of the cavalry was awful. Lord Lucan gives us a despatch which he wrote on the 17th to Raglan, pointing out 'the fearful consequences' of the cavalry having to do transport work. He adds that all this while, too, *ponies were procurable in Asia Minor and elsewhere for £5*, and that these ponies were really better fitted for the work than the troop-horses. Such are the good effects of these investigations! Men turn evidence against each other. Had a journalist suggested the fact about the ponies, he would have been met with a hoot about the easiness of suggesting it from England. Let us now hear the answer to it when made by a man of rank on the spot, who could not and would not have misled Lord Raglan on the subject. It was not till the 19th of January that the cavalry were released from the transport duty. By that time the bulk of the mischief had no doubt been done—sick men, sick horses, exposure, overwork, had played havoc with that brilliant force. Lord Lucan has certainly some case as against the commissioners. For instance, he shows that he *did* begin putting earlier than they represent, and that they have overlooked in their report some stables at the depot altogether. We shall not inquire just now how far he made the most of the materials which were at command. Our object is to use him as a 'king's evidence'—as a testimony about the state of things generally. In that point of view, his vindication of the 7th instant was highly important. He was in want of engineer officers—of knowledge about the stable-building required of him—of the means of carrying the materials for it—and his horses were taken from him for other purposes. In proportion as he exculpates or tries to exculpate himself, he inculpates the whole system of the army. But the system of the army was, again, at the mercy of the government at home, in the first instance, for the government at home never thought they would have to winter in the Crimea. When the winter came, the army had a terrible problem, and now we are beginning to learn why and how they found that problem more difficult than it ought to have been. Unless Lord Lucan speaks with a rashness and a violence which we should be sorry to impute to him, there was a mismanagement in the camp which almost or quite matched the miscalculation in Downing Street. The potatoes are now accusing each other, and as they fall out the public will come by its own in the way of information."

From the divisional orders of Lord Lucan,

as well as from his defence before the Chelsea commissioners, it appears that his lordship was continually remonstrating with the commander-in-chief, the quartermaster-general, and the commissary-general, upon the neglect with which the cavalry horses were treated by the various departments of the army upon which they were dependent. On the subject of hutting the horses, his lordship's ability may be called in question; but in his zeal for the welfare of his horses, and his general ability for their management, his conduct was beyond question.

On the 9th, Colonel Tulloch made his reply, Sir J. McNeill having declined to come before a military tribunal. The colonel spoke with moderation, and maintained his argument with distinctness upon the allegations of his report, without deviating into other questions, which, however important in themselves, did not concern his integrity. He then called his witnesses, and spoke as to their testimony. Lord Lucan was heard in reply upon the whole case. In this reply, his lordship made use of the following remarkable sentence:—"It would really appear as if a conspiracy had been formed against the commissioners; and that, instead of being supplied with the information they required, only enough was given to delude and deceive them!" This was obviously the truth, and is the secret of the errors which undoubtedly crept into the report. There was no intention, on the part of the authorities in the Crimea, to forward the object of her majesty's government, or, at all events, its ostensible object in sending out the commission. To thwart them first, and to deceive them afterwards, seems to have been the device of the chief persons connected with the army. Another assertion of his lordship's excited much attention: it was to the effect that the government appointed the commission for the purpose of making a case exonerating the home officials, and throwing the blame of what was wrong upon the persons there most likely to be accepted by the public as blamable. The subsequent conduct of the government went far to justify this taunt. His lordship also, with much expressiveness of manner, observed, that "he was responsible *to*, but not *for*, the commander-in-chief:" this remark told powerfully upon the audience.

On the 29th of April, the Earl of Cardigan was called upon to take his objections to the report. The noble lord stated that he had not demanded any inquiry, but that, upon perusal of the report, he addressed a letter to the secretary of state, which was laid before parliament; as, however, a court of inquiry was established, he cheerfully met it, confident in the justice of his cause. His lordship selected one particular passage of the report, in which

injustice was done to him; it was this:—"When the supply began to fail, the commissariat officer referred to, who appears to have done everything in his power to have met the difficulties of the case, proposed—as he knew there was plenty of barley at Balaklava—that if a detachment of the horses were allowed to go down daily, he would engage to bring up enough for the rest of the brigade. This proposition appears to have been brought under the notice of Lord Cardigan by Lieutenant-colonel Mayon, assistant quartermaster-general of cavalry, who states that his lordship declined to accede to it, as he had previously done, when a similar proposition was made to him to send the horses down for hay before that supply failed."

The noble earl pointed out to the court that no opinion had been given by the commissioners as to the propriety of his refusal, but the implication was left that the refusal was improper. His lordship then proceeded to show that the retention of his brigade on the heights of Inkerman, for which he was not responsible, left it impossible for him to carry out the suggestions of Colonel Mayon. He (Lord Cardigan) represented to Lord Raglan the consequences of keeping the brigade in that position; but his lordship intimated that it was the wish of General Canrobert, and he had promised to carry out that wish. Lord Cardigan, in fact, pleaded superior orders for the ruinous position which the cavalry occupied. It was not in his power to remove so large a portion of his men and horses without the authority of his superiors, which he did not possess. This defence seemed irrefutable.

On the 1st of May, Sir Richard Airey was called upon to make his statement. He denounced the propriety of government appointing such a commission, and could not believe that they were intrusted with the duty of sitting in judgment upon his conduct. He relied confidently upon the entire approval of his chief, Lord Raglan, whose despatches never, in a single instance, found fault with his conduct. He attributed the sufferings of the army to overwork and want of transport. As to the overwork, it was unavoidable in General Airey's opinion; everything Lord Raglan ordered was right; he eulogised his lordship as a man and a general in an extraordinary degree; and vindicated all his measures. The want of transport was no fault of General Airey's or Lord Raglan's, and the general did not appear to think that it was anybody's fault, but rather a contingent misfortune. General Airey considered that his department was perfectly managed, and that upon the departments of the adjutant-general, and commissary-general, the responsibility wholly rested. The address was apparently well received by General Airey's

judges, but its reception was very different by the assembly and the country.

On the 5th of May, Colonel Tulloch was obliged to leave the court from illness.

Colonel Gordon's defence was altogether peculiar. He denied that there was anything wrong in the management of the army, and asserted the old and oft-refuted stories about the sufferings of the soldiers having been exaggerated. The honourable gentleman spoke precisely in the spirit with which his father, Lord Aberdeen, treated the conduct of the war, and the sufferings of the soldiers.

The last person to whom opportunity of making a statement was offered was Commissary-general Filder. This officer made several serious mistakes in the management of his department, and was self-willed and dogmatical; but his defence proved that the arrangements of the home officials, and the neglect of the commander-in-chief in the Crimea, or his incapacity to see the importance of Mr. Filder's suggestions, deprived the commissariat of the power and means to be useful. Mr. Filder read to the court many applications made by him to the War-office and the Treasury, which were not attended to at all, or so imperfectly acted upon that they might almost as well be totally disregarded. Mr. Filder's defence proved, beyond all controversy, the utter incapacity of the government at home to conduct a great war, and of the commander-in-chief in the Crimea to conduct a great siege.

In July the commission made its report, and fully exonerated all the officers impeached, and, by implication rather than statement, laid the whole blame upon the home management of the war.

The effect upon the public was unfavourable to the officers who conducted the commission, and there was somewhat of an unfair eagerness in the public mind to have the accused officers condemned. A strong conviction took possession of the people, that unless military reform was promptly and extensively enforced by the Commons, the country would be in danger, should war again test its military skill and resources.

The conduct of the court and the Horse Guards in reference to the Crimean inquiry, and the conduct of the court and the Horse Guards' parasites, was such as to draw down upon them general indignation. Had the public been aware of a tenth part of the efforts said to have been made to flatter and intimidate witnesses, the indignation would have been far more general, and would probably have assumed something like a practical form. Enough transpired to call for parliamentary interference.

It will be in the recollection of many

of our readers that the veteran Colonel Griffiths was examined, and that his testimony, whether erroneous or correct, was very strong against what he pronounced to be the mis-management by which so many horses and men perished. The next day the colonel received a communication from the Horse Guards that his coat was an inch too long or too short, or too much or too little in some other way, we forget which. This is no joke, although it may read like one; and it was felt to be no joke by those who made the communication and by him who received it. The object was to furnish the gallant officer with a hint that his evidence was offensive in a high—in a very high—place, and to influence him in adopting a different tone next day. The gallant old officer was not intimidated, and did not change his evidence. His answer was worthy of admiration:—"I have served my country for fifty years, and I will not submit now to be lectured about an inch too long or too short in my coat."

The conduct of Colonel Yorke did not emulate that of Colonel Griffiths. This officer wrote a letter to the *Times* newspaper, alleging that the heavy cavalry was not in the Crimea on the 1st of October. The letter was written to invalidate certain evidence given before the commissioners as to the neglect of the horses. Our readers will recollect that some of the heavy cavalry were landed immediately after the battle of the Alma, and the Scots Greys were debarked at the mouth of the Katcha, while the army bivouaced on the heights above the river, three days after the battle just-named, which was fought on the 20th of September.

The impudence of Colonel Yorke's assertions of course attracted the notice of the generals presiding in the inquiry at Chelsea, and Colonel Tulloch called Colonel Yorke as a witness, who stoutly maintained the absurd and wicked assertions of his letter to the *Times*. Colonel Tulloch then placed in his hand letters of his (Colonel Yorke's) own, written the 1st of October, at Balaklava! Of course the mendacious letter to the *Times* was confuted, but its writer was not ashamed, for he sought to ride away on the explanation that only part of the heavy cavalry were then there. The board of general officers administered to the colonel a firm and humiliating reproof. How did the court and the Horse Guards deal with "an officer and a gentleman" who bore such testimony? Why, the next day he dined at Windsor Castle! To withhold testimony to cruel and ruinous military abuses was the passport to the royal dinner-table! The true witness, after fifty years' service, received a letter of intimidation from the Horse Guards, not an invitation to Windsor. Of such matters our good queen

could not personally be a judge, nor was she to be held in any way responsible for these occurrences; but it was notorious that there were those about her person who interfered in everything connected with the army, so that it was as much at their command as if the office of commander-in-chief were delegated to them—in fact, it was more so, for then there would be some responsibility to public opinion, if not to parliament, which was in such circumstances evaded. These facts acted upon the mind of the English people most prejudicially as to the moral and official influence of men in power.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

HOME EVENTS CONTINUED.—EXCITEMENT IN THE FRENCH CAPITAL.—BIRTH OF AN HEIR TO NAPOLEON.—THE EMPEROR'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS.

“ Oh! first of human blessings, and supreme!
 Fair Peace! how lovely, how delightful thou!
 By whose wide tie, the kindred sons of men
 Like brothers live—in amity combin'd,
 And unsuspecting faith! while honest toil
 Gives every joy, and to those joys a right,
 Which idle, barbarous rapine but usurps.
 O Peace, thou source and soul of social life,
 Beneath whose calm, inspiring influence
 Science his views enlarges—Art refines,
 And swelling commerce opens all her ports!
 Blest be the man divine who gives us thee!
 Who bids the trumpet hush his horrid clang,
 Nor blow the giddy nations into rage:
 Who sheaths the murderous blade—the deadly gun
 Into the well-piled armoury returns,
 And every vigour from the work of death,
 To grateful industry converting, make
 The country flourish, and the city smile!
 This is the man whose praise extends
 Far as the sun rolls the diffusive day!
 Far as the breeze can bear the gifts of peace!
 Till all the happy nations catch the song!”—JAMES THOMSON.

DURING the period the events recorded in the previous chapter had their occurrence, the excitement in the French capital was very great. The Duke of Cambridge, in the name of her majesty, had presented 15,000 French soldiers with a medal each in honour of their services in the Crimea, and this was followed by Lord Cowley, the ambassador, bestowing the decoration of the Order of the Bath upon such French officers as were deemed worthy of this high token of respect. These incidents, with the negotiations for peace, kept Paris in a state of excitement, political and military, seldom equalled among the excitable Parisians.

Another event intensified this state of mind, not only in the capital, but in all France—the birth of an heir to the imperial throne. On the morning of the 15th of March the empress was seized with the pains of labour, which were severe and protracted, so as to cause uneasiness for the welfare of the imperial lady. As is usual in cases of royal births, the princes of the family, the ministers, and other eminent persons, were summoned to the palace. The sufferings of her majesty were concealed by the tenderness and good sense of the emperor. At a little after three on the morning of the 16th the empress gave birth to a prince. At six the cannon of the Invalides announced the glad tidings to Paris, and very soon after the

Park and Tower guns in London gave forth the gratulations of the British government. During the morning the houses on the boulevards were decorated with streamers, and the theatres and other public buildings were hung with the flags of France, England, Turkey, and Sardinia. The house of the Russian embassy was decorated; and when, in the evening, illuminations lit up Paris, that embassy was among the most brilliantly illuminated.

The ceremony of the *onduiment* was performed with much pomp in the chapel of the Tuileries. Near the altar, on the Gospel side, stood Cardinals Dupont, Gousset, Donnet, and Mariot, and M. Legrand, Curé of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, the imperial parish. Opposite, on the Epistle side, were the Bishop of Nancy, first chaplain of the emperor, and his clergy. In the centre of the sanctuary, in front of the emperor's arm-chair, was a table, covered with white drapery, bearing a splendid silver-gilt baptistry. Next to it were the admirals and marshals of France, and other high dignitaries, the grand masters of the imperial household, and the masters of the ceremonies, the Princess Mathilde, and the ladies of honour of the empress. At half-past twelve o'clock the emperor entered the chapel, accompanied by the members of the imperial family, the ministers, the presidents of the senate and legislative

body, and the grand master of the ceremonies. The Bishop of Adras having celebrated mass, the Abbé Deplace rose, and taking for his text those words of the Gospel, "*Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*," called down the blessings of the Almighty on the new-born prince. The conclusion of the abbé's benediction was one of the grossest pieces of royal adulation ever uttered in a place of worship, and was the more shocking from being addressed to the Almighty. It was in the following terms:—"Bestow on him the genius and magnanimity of his father, the kindness and inexhaustible charity of his mother, the sincere faith and devotion of both; and, to sum up those wishes in one word, bestow on him a heart worthy of his destiny and of his name."

After mass was offered, the imperial infant was carried in by his governess, when his baptism took place. That ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Nancy and the parish priest of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. The name given was Napoléon Eugène Louis Jean Joseph, and after this name the emperor, in signing the registers, added *filis de France*. After the signature by the emperor there were added the names of Prince Murat, the Duke of Alba, Marshal Vaillant, M. Trapling, president of the senate, and Count de Morny, president of the legislative body. The *Domine Saluum* was subsequently chanted, and the bishop having bestowed his benediction on all present, his majesty left the chapel, and was conducted back to his apartments by the same personages who attended him on his arrival.

The birth of an heir to the French emperor had too much influence upon the French court and people, and upon those foreign governments which were openly or secretly opposed to a Napoleon dynasty, not to demand this notice in a History of the War. Perhaps the good effect produced by the auspicious occurrence was increased in Europe generally by some remarkable words which the emperor let fall when, upon the 18th of March, the plenipotentiaries of the peace congress waited upon his majesty with their congratulations: "I am happy," said the emperor, "that Providence has granted me a son at a moment when an era of general reconciliation dawns upon Europe. I will bring him up imbued with the idea that nations must not be egotistical, and that the peace of Europe depends upon the prosperity of each nation." The words of the French emperor at this crisis were weighty and well chosen.

Shortly before the birth of the prince he delivered a very remarkable address at the opening of the French chambers, which was read with the deepest interest in all the capitals and cabinets of Europe.

"The last time I convoked you our minds

were occupied with matters of grave import,—the allied armies were exhausting themselves at a siege where the obstinacy of the defence made success doubtful. Europe, hesitating, seemed to await the end of the struggle before pronouncing itself; to carry on the war, I asked of you a loan, which you granted unanimously, although it may have appeared excessive. The high price of provisions threatened to cause general distress among the labouring classes, and a perturbation in the monetary system gave rise to fears of a slackening of commercial transactions and of labour.

"Well, thanks to your support, as well as to the energy displayed in France and in England—thanks, above all things, to the support of Providence—those dangers, if they have not entirely disappeared, have, most of them at least, been averted.

"A great feat of arms has decided a desperate struggle, unexampled in history, in favour of the allied armies. Since that moment, the opinion of Europe has pronounced itself more openly. On all sides our alliances have been extended and strengthened.

"The third loan was subscribed without difficulty. The country has given me a proof of its confidence by subscribing a sum five times the amount I demanded; it has supported with admirable resignation the sufferings inseparable from a dearth of provisions—sufferings alleviated, however, by private charity, by the zeal of the municipal authorities, and by the 10,000,000 fr. distributed in the departments. At the present moment, the arrivals of foreign corn have caused a sensible fall; the fears arising from the scarcity of gold have been diminished, and labour was never more active, nor the revenues more considerable.

"The chances of war have aroused the military spirit of the nation; at no time were voluntary enlistments so frequent, or so much ardour displayed by the recruits designated by lot.

"To this brief statement of the situation facts of a high political signification must be added.

"The Queen of Great Britain, desirous of giving a proof of her confidence, of her esteem for our country, to render our relations more intimate, visited France. The enthusiastic welcome she met with must have convinced her how deep were the sentiments inspired by her presence, and that they were of a nature to strengthen the alliance of the two nations.

"The King of Piedmont, who, without looking behind him, had embraced our cause with that courageous impetuosity which he had already shown on the battle-field, also came to France, to consecrate a union already cemented by the bravery of his soldiers. Those

sovereigns were enabled to see a country, formerly so agitated and disinherited of its rank in the councils of Europe, now prosperous, peaceful, and respected; waging war, not with the momentary delirium of passion, but with the calmness, justice, and energy of duty. They beheld France, while sending 200,000 men beyond the seas, at the same time convoke all the arts of peace at Paris, as if she wished to say to Europe, 'The present war is only an episode for me; my ideas and my strength are in part always directed towards the arts of peace; let us neglect nothing to understand each other; and do not compel me to throw all the resources and all the energy of a great nation into the lists of battle.'

"That appeal seems to have been heard, and winter, by suspending hostilities, favoured the intervention of diplomacy.

"Austria resolved upon taking a decisive step, which brought into the deliberations all the influence of the sovereign of a vast empire.

"Sweden entered into closer connection with England and France, by a treaty which guaranteed the integrity of her territory: finally, advice or entreaties were sent to St. Petersburg from all the cabinets.

"The Emperor of Russia, who had inherited a position he had not created, appeared animated with a sincere desire to put an end to the causes which had occasioned this sanguinary conflict. He resolutely accepted the propositions transmitted by Austria. The honour of his arms once satisfied, he did honour to himself also by complying with the distinctly expressed wishes of Europe.

"To-day the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent and allied powers are assembled at Paris to decide upon the conditions of peace. The spirit of moderation and equity which animates them all must make us hope for a favourable result; nevertheless, let us await the end of the conferences with dignity, and let us be equally prepared, if it should be necessary, either again to draw the sword, or to extend the hand to those we have honourably fought.

"Whatever may happen, let us occupy ourselves with all the means proper to increase the power and wealth of France; let us draw still closer, if possible, the alliance formed by a participation of glory and of sacrifices, the reciprocal advantages of which will be brought into still stronger relief by peace.

"Let us, finally, at this solemn moment for the destinies of the world, place our trust in God, that He may guide our efforts in the sense most conformable to the interests of humanity and of civilisation."

It is scarcely necessary to particularise further the home incidents of France in connec-

tion with the war. Her troops were gradually withdrawn from the Crimea, and received at Marseilles, Toulon, and Paris, a glorious welcome. In this place it may be desirable to give some documents which will complete the history as it regards our great ally at home. One of these will be peculiarly interesting to Englishmen. The *Moniteur* published an imperial decree, dated the 16th of June, by which, on the proposition of the minister for foreign affairs, the order of the Legion of Honour was conferred upon the following British officers and soldiers. The list is calculated to make every British heart bound with exultation. An Irish journal analysed the list, in search of the names of natives of Ireland who were placed on the noble roll, and stated as the result, that more than a moiety of them belonged to Irishmen. This was an invidious and uncalled for performance, for no reflection had been thrown by fellow-citizens, fellow-soldiers, allies, or enemies, upon the courage and devotion of the noble soldiers of the sister-land. On the contrary, the valour of the 18th Royal Irish, the 27th or Enniskilleners, the 88th or Connaught Rangers, the 97th or Earl of Ulster's Own, besides those regiments which, without bearing an Irish designation, were chiefly composed of Irish, as the 9th, 28th, 41st, 44th, 55th, &c., greatly distinguished themselves, and received from the British people no scanty meed of praise. The Irish cavalry regiments also, such as the 4th Royal Irish Dragoon Guards (which, by the way, numbered more English than Irish), the 6th Dragoons (Enniskillens), and 8th Royal Irish Hussars, were extolled, by the English and Scotch press, with the same pride as the Guards, Highlanders, and Scots Greys were lauded. They were all alike British soldiers, and felt the pride of British soldiers; and all invidious nationality in connection with the composition of our troops should be permitted to die away.

LEGION OF HONOUR.

1. GRAND CROSSES.

General Sir James Simpson.
General Sir George Brown.

2. GRAND OFFICERS.

Lieutenant-general Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Bart.
Lieutenant-general Sir De Lacy Evans.
Major-general Sir Richard England.
Lieutenant-general Sir John Lysaght Pennefather.

3. COMMANDERS.

Major-general Lord Leean.
Major-general Sir Henry John William Bentinck.
Lieutenant-general Henry William Barnard.
Lieutenant-general Lord Rokeby.
General Sir William John Codrington.
Lieutenant-general the Hon. Sir James Yorke Scarlett.
Lieutenant-general Sir William Eyre.
Major-general Sir Hugh Henry Rose.
Major-general Sir George Buller.
Lieutenant-general Sir Richard Daerens.
Major-general Charles Ash Windham.

4. OFFICERS.

STAFF.

Colonel Thomas Montagu Steele, Military-secretary.
Colonel the Hon. William L. Pakenham.
Dr. John Hall, Inspector-general of Hospitals.
Colonel William M. S. Macmurdy, Land Transport.
Major Lord Frederick Paulet.
Colonel Alexander Gordon, Quartermaster-general.
Colonel Arthur Augustus Thurloe Cunynghame.
Colonel Percy Ezerton Herbert, Quartermaster-general.
Colonel Richard Wilbraham.
Colonel Studholme Brownrigg.
Lieutenant-colonel Anthony Sterling.

CAVALRY.

Brigadier-general Lord George A. F. Paget.
Brigadier-general Frederick George Shewell.

INFANTRY.

Brigadier-general Charles William Ridley.
Colonel the Hon. George Frederick Upton.
Colonel Edward Walter Forester Walker.
Major-general Lord William Paulet.
Brig.-gen. Chas. Thos. Van Straubenzee, 3rd regiment.
Brigadier-general Frederick Horn, 20th regiment.
Colonel Charles Richard Sackville, Lord West.
Colonel Daniel Lyons, 23rd regiment.
Colonel Frank Adams, 28th regiment.
Lieut.-col. James Thomas Manleverer, 30th regiment.
Brig.-gen. Duncan Alex. Cameron, 42nd regiment.
Brig.-gen. the Hon. Augustus A. Spencer, 44th regiment.
Major-general Robert Garrett, 46th regiment.
Lieut.-col. Richard Thomas Farren, 47th regiment.
Brigadier-general Charles Warren, 55th regiment.
Brigadier-general Charles Trollope, 62nd regiment.
Brigadier-general Horatio Shirley, 88th regiment.
Brigadier-general Arthur Johnstone Lawrence.
Colonel Francis Seymour.

ARTILLERY.

Major-general John Edward Dupuis.
Colonel James William Fitzmayer.
Colonel John Saint-George.
Colonel Edward Charles Warde.
Colonel David Edward Wood.
Lieutenant-colonel John Miller Adye.

ENGINEERS.

Colonel Alexander Gordon.
Colonel Frederick Edward Chapman.

5. KNIGHTS.

STAFF.

Colonel Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar.
Capt. and Lieut.-col. Chas. Lennox Brownlow Maitland.
Major Hon. William Colville.
Lieutenant-colonel Francis Pym Harding.
Lieutenant-colonel Lawrence Shadwell.
Major Gustavus Hume.
Lieutenant-colonel Kenneth Douglas Mackenzie.
Lieutenant-colonel Edmund Gilling Hallowell.
Colonel Edward Robert Wetherall.
Lieutenant-colonel the Hon. Francis Colborne.
Lieutenant James Talbot Airey.
Lieutenant-colonel George Wynell Mayow.
Lieutenant-colonel the Hon. Arthur Edward Hardinge.
Lieutenant-colonel Joseph Edwin Thackwell.
Lieutenant-colonel Hugh Smith.
Colonel William Sullivan.
Lieutenant-colonel Robert Blane.
Lieutenant-colonel John Stewart Wood.
Colonel Collingwood Dickson, Royal Artillery.
Major George Latham Thompson.
Lieutenant-colonel Charles John Woodford.
Lieutenant-colonel William Morris.
Major George Harry Smith Willis.
Captain Frederick Smith Vacher.
Major William Bellairs.
Major Julius Richard Glyn.
Captain Arthur Maxwell Earle, 57th foot.
Lieutenant-colonel James Wells Armstrong, 19th foot.
Lieutenant-colonel George Vaughan Maxwell, 88th foot.

Lieut.-col. Cuthbert George Ellison, Grenadier Guards.
Major Robert Barnston, 90th foot, Assistant-quarter-master-general.

Major Charles Torrens Daniel, 38th foot.
Archibald Gordon, M.D.
James Mouatt, M.D.
Thomas Patrick Matthew, M.D.
Richard Coffin Elliott, M.D.
Inspector-general Thomas Alexander, M.D.
Assistant-surgeon Thomas Clarke Brady.
Assistant-surgeon Thomas Lagerwood, 40th foot.
Assist.-surgeon Henry Thomas Sylvester, 23rd regiment.
Assistant-surgeon George Fair.
Assistant-surgeon Charles O'Callaghan.

COMMISSARIAT.

Commissary-general William Henry Drake.
Commissary-general John William Smith.
Commissary-general Philip Turner.
Assist.-commissary-gen. Frederick Stanley Carpenter.
Assist.-commissary-gen. Montague William Darling.
Assistant-commissary-general Keane O-borne.

CAVALRY.

Major James Conolly.
Major Alexander Jas. Hardy Elliott, 5th Dragoon Guards.
Captain Michael Mac Creagh, 4th Dragoon Guards.
Sergeant William Percy, 4th Dragoon Guards.
Corporal Henry Herbert, 5th Dragoon Guards.
Charles Babbington, 5th Dragoon Guards.
Major William De Cardonnel Elmsall, 1st Dragoons.
Sergeant William Kyle.
Lieut.-colonel George Calvert Clarke, 2nd Dragoons.
Sergeant-major William Rant, 2nd Dragoons.
Lieut.-colonel Alexander Low, 4th Light Dragoons.
Sergeant David Gillam, 4th Light Dragoons.
Lieutenant-colonel Charles Cameron Shute.
Sergeant Richard Jeffreys.
Lieutenant-colonel Rodolph De Salis, 8th Hussars.
Trumpeter William Gray, 8th Hussars.
Sergeant-major George Cuttridge, 11th Hussars.
John Thomas Bambrick, 11th Hussars.
Major Arthur Tremayne, 13th Light Dragoons.
Sergt.-maj. Thos. George Johnson, 13th Light Dragoons.
Captain Sir William Gordon, Bart., 17th Lancers.
Trumpeter John Brown.

INFANTRY.

Grenadier Guards.

Colonel Frederick William Hamilton.
Colonel the Hon. Hugh Manvers Percy.
Lieut.-col. George Wentworth Alexander Higginsen.
Major Sir Charles Russell.
Lieutenant-colonel Viscount Balgonie.
Lieutenant-colonel William Gregory Dawkins.
Lieutenant-colonel Clement William Strong.
Major Henry Armytage.
Captain Gerard Littlehales Goodlake.
Captain Harvey Tower.

Scots Fusiliers.

Lieut.-col. Frederick Charles Arthur Stephenson.
Lieutenant-colonel the Hon. John Strange Jocelyn.
Captain Reginald Gipps.
Major Francis Baring.
Captain Robert James Lindsay.

Major Frederick Wells, 1st regiment, 1st battalion.
Capt. Jas. Archibald Ruddell Todd, 1st regt., 1st battal.
Capt. John Martin Brown, 1st regt. royal, 1st batt.
Captain Charles Hurt, 1st regiment, 1st battalion.
Sergeant William Gillies, 1st regiment, 1st battalion.
Captain Theobald McKenna, 1st regiment, 2nd battalion.
Henry Crisell, 1st regiment, 2nd battalion.
Lieut.-col. Frederick Francis Maude, 3rd regiment.
Major John Lewis, 3rd regiment.
Lieutenant and Adjutant George Noble Roe, 3rd regt.
Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Williams, 4th regiment.
Major Patrick Robertson, 4th regiment.
Captain James Paton, 4th regiment.
Sergeant Thomas Watt, 4th regiment.
Lieutenant-colonel William West Turner.
Lieutenant-colonel Arthur John Pack, 7th regiment.
Major Hugh John Hibbert, 7th regiment.

- Captain Frederick Ernest Appleyard, 7th regiment.
 Captain Henry Mitchell Jones, 7th regiment.
 Lieut. and Adjt. George Henry Waller, 7th regiment.
 Sergeant Joseph Bell, 7th regiment.
 James Raines, 7th regiment.
 Major Henry Ralph Brown, 9th regiment.
 Captain Hopton Bassett Scott, 9th regiment.
 Sergeant William Ryder, 9th regiment.
 Corporal William Cook, 9th regiment.
 Major George King, 13th regiment.
 Captain George Henry Tyler, 13th regiment.
 Major John Dwyer, 14th regiment.
 Sergeant John Macdonald, 14th regiment.
 Lieutenant Joseph Oates Travers, 17th regiment.
 Lieutenant William Dalrymple Thompson, 17th regt.
 Sergeant John Plant, 17th regiment.
 Major Anthony W. S. F. Armstrong, 18th regiment.
 Major Matthew Jones Hayman, 18th regiment.
 Sergeant John Grant, 18th regiment.
 Major Montagu Hamilton Dowbiggin.
 Lieut. William Godfrey Dunham Massey, 19th regt.
 Lieut.-col. John Lewis Richard Rooke, 19th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel Robert Warden, 19th regiment.
 Major Robert Onesophorus Bright, 19th regiment.
 Major Edward Chippindale, 19th regiment.
 John Lyons, 19th regiment.
 Lieut.-col. Frederick Charles Eveleigh, 20th regiment.
 Major Charles Richard Butler, 20th regiment.
 Sergeant Arthur Rule, 20th regiment.
 Joseph Brown, 20th regiment.
 Captain Roger Killean, 21st regiment.
 Captain William Henry Carleton, 21st regiment.
 Captain John George Image, 21st regiment.
 Captain Arthur Templeman, 21st regiment.
 Sergeant James Line, 21st regiment.
 Lieut.-col. Henry William Banbury, 23rd regiment.
 Major Arthur James Herbert.
 Major Edward William Deddington Bell, 23rd regiment.
 Captain Francis Edward Drewe, 23rd regiment.
 Sergeant William Stait, 23rd regiment.
 Corporal Robert Shiels, 23rd regiment.
 Major Percy Arthur Butler, 28th regiment.
 Major John Guise Rogers Aplin, 23rd regiment.
 Major William Roberts, 28th regiment.
 Captain Orlando Robert Hamond Orlebar, 28th regiment.
 Charles Smith, 28th regiment.
 Major Francis Topping Atcherley, 30th regiment.
 Major Charles Meugave Green, 30th regiment.
 Lieutenant Stamer Gubbins, 30th regiment.
 Sergeant-major Richard Nagle, 30th regiment.
 John McCormick, 30th regiment.
 Major Frederick Spence, 31st regiment.
 Major Robert John Eagar, 31st regiment.
 Lieut.-col. George Valentine Mundy, 33rd regiment.
 Major John Elias Collings.
 Major Edward Westby Donovan, 33rd regiment.
 Major John Edward Taubman Quayle, 33rd regiment.
 Major William Pretvman, 33rd regiment.
 Sergeant William Mackay, 33rd regiment.
 Lieut.-col. Arthur Cyril Goodenough, 34th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel John Simpson, 34th regiment.
 Major John Guilt, 34th regiment.
 Sergeant-major John Mortimer, 34th regiment.
 Lieut.-col. John William Sydney Smith, 38th regiment.
 Captain Compton Alwyn Serase Dickens, 38th regiment.
 Lieutenant William Kidston Ellis, 38th regiment.
 Assist.-surgeon William Younge Jeeves, 38th regiment.
 John Scott, 38th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel William Munro, 39th regiment.
 Captain William Leekie, 39th regiment.
 Lieutenant Ralph Edward Carr, 39th regiment.
 Sergeant-major Joseph Jobberns, 39th regiment.
 Major George Skipwith.
 Lieut.-col. Julius Edmund Goodwyn, 41st regiment.
 Major Hugh Rowlands.
 Major Lunley Graham.
 Captain William Allan, 41st regiment.
 Sergeant James O'Neill.
 Corporal Peter Stockey.
 Captain John Chetnam Macleod, 42nd regiment.
 Captain John Drysdale.
 Assist.-surg. William Alexander McKinnon, 42nd regt.
 Lieutenant and Adjutant William Wood.
 Sergeant Charles Christie.
 Colonel William McMahon, 44th regiment.
 Major John Robinson, 44th regiment.
 Major Richard Preston, 44th regiment.
 Assistant-surgeon John Gibbons, 44th regiment.
 Robert Thimbleby, 44th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Maxwell, 46th regiment.
 Captain George Dallas, 46th regiment.
 William Bond, 46th regiment.
 William Simpson, 46th regiment.
 Major John Henry Lowndes, 47th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel James Villiers, 47th regiment.
 Major Charles Courtney Villiers, 47th regiment.
 Captain Charles Aldersey Stevenson, 47th regiment.
 Sergeant John Wilson, 47th regiment.
 Major Frederick West, 48th regiment.
 Corporal Thomas Kelly, 48th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel John Thornton Grant, 49th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel John Hyde King, 49th regiment.
 Major James William Dewar, 47th regiment.
 Major Cadwallader Adams, 49th regiment.
 Captain Thomas Priaux St. George Armstrong.
 Corporal James Butler, 49th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel Richard Waddy, 50th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel John Lneas Wilton, 50th regiment.
 Major Heathfield James Frampton, 50th regiment.
 Major Andrew Campbell Knox Lock, 50th regiment.
 Sergeant Angus Macpherson, 50th regiment.
 Lieut. Henry Charles Barnston Daubeney, 53rd regt.
 Major Robert Hume, 55th regiment.
 Major Frederick Cockayne Elton, 55th regiment.
 Captain John Richard Hume, 55th regiment.
 Captain William Barnston.
 Corporal Joseph Doyle.
 Captain Richard Anderson, 56th regiment.
 Captain Henry Butler, 57th regiment.
 Captain Gerard John Forsyth, 57th regiment.
 Sergeant-major George Cumming, 57th regiment.
 Sergeant William Griffith.
 Joseph Burgess.
 Lieutenant-colonel James Daubeney, 62nd regiment.
 Major Charles Gooch, 62nd regiment.
 Captain Edward Henry Hunter, 62nd regiment.
 Joseph Newman, 62nd regiment.
 Major Thomas Harris, 63rd regiment.
 Sergeant Hawthorn Christopher Elliott, 63rd regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel Henry Smyth, 68th regiment.
 Captain Thomas de Courcy Hamilton, 68th regiment.
 Lieutenant Aubrey Harvey Tucker, 68th regiment.
 Sergeant Henry Stadden, 68th regiment.
 Corporal Fletcher.
 John Ogden.
 Lieutenant-colonel Charles Ready, 71st regiment.
 Major William Hope.
 Lieutenant-colonel William Parke, 72nd regiment.
 Major Alexander Dalton Thellusson.
 Major William Rickman, 77th regiment.
 Major Henry Robert Carden, 77th regiment.
 Captain Edward Henry Chawner, 77th regiment.
 Sergeant-major Henry Borritt, 77th regiment.
 Thomas Coonin, 77th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel William McCall, 79th regiment.
 Major William Chauval Hodgson, 79th regiment.
 Captain Henry Wotton Campbell, 79th regiment.
 Lieutenant-adjutant James Young, 79th regiment.
 Sergeant William Davie, 79th regiment.
 Lieut.-col. Edward Herbert Maxwell, 88th regiment.
 Major Nathaniel Steevens, 88th regiment.
 Captain George Richard Browne, 88th regiment.
 Captain George Robert Beresford, 88th regiment.
 Sergeant Thomas Goggins, 88th regiment.
 Sergeant Joseph Gremann, 88th regiment.
 Lieut.-col. Frederick Charles Aylmer, 89th regiment.
 Major William Boyle, 89th regiment.
 Captain John Macdonald Cuppage, 89th regiment.
 John Fisher, 89th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel Robert Grove, 90th regiment.
 Major Thomas Smith, 90th regiment.
 Captain Garnet Joseph Wolsely, 90th regiment.
 Sergeant Joseph Smaller, 90th regiment.
 Lieut.-col. John Alexander Ewart, 93rd regiment.
 Lieutenant Robert Crowe, 93rd regiment.
 Captain George Cornwall, 93rd regiment.

Sergeant Alexander Knox, 93rd regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel Henry Haue, 95th regiment.
 Major John Neptune Sargent, 95th regiment.
 Major the Hon. Eyre Chailoner Henry Massey, 95th regt.
 Captain George Lynedock Carmichael, 95th regiment.
 Lieutenant and Adjutant John Sexton, 95th regiment.
 Timothy Abbott, 95th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Ingram, 97th regiment.
 Major Edmund Coruwalli Legh, 97th regiment.
 Major Charles Henry Lunnay, 97th regiment.
 Sergeant Peter Lawless, 97th regiment.
 Peter John Stone, 97th regiment.
 Lieut.-col. Edward Arthur Somerset, 87th regiment.
 Major the Hon. Henry Cudford, 97th regiment.
 Lieutenant John Brett, 97th regiment.
 Sergeant Timothy Murphy, 97th regiment.
 Francis Wheatley, 97th regiment.
 Lieutenant-colonel Alexander McDonnell, 97th regiment.
 Major William Augustus Evers, 97th regiment.
 Captain Edward William Blackett, 97th regiment.
 Lieutenant John Simpson Knox, 97th regiment.
 Sergeant John Andrews, 97th regiment.
 Major Claud Thomas Bouchier, 97th regiment.

ROYAL ARTILLERY.

Lieutenant-colonel Edwin Wodehouse.
 Lieutenant-colonel William Manley Hall Dixon.
 Lieutenant-colonel Henry Francis Strange.
 Lieutenant-colonel Edward Bruce Hamley.
 Major George Thomas Field.
 Major John Fraser Lodington Baddeley.
 Major John George Boothby.
 Major John Singleton.
 Major Edmund John Carthew.
 Major John Edward Hope.
 Major William John Bolton.
 Major Charles Henry Owen.
 Brevet-major Spence Delves Broughton.
 Brevet-major John James Branding.
 Brevet-major John Turner.
 Brevet-major Edward Moubray.
 Major William Edmund Moyses Reilly.
 Major William Windham Augustus Lukin.
 Major Frederick Miller.
 Major William James Esten Grant.
 Major Philip Dickson.
 Major Roderick Mackenzie.
 Major Hugh Archibald Beauchamp Campbell.
 Captain William Powell Richards.
 Captain John Spurway.
 Captain William Henry Randolph Simpson.
 Lieutenant Augustus Henry King.
 Lieutenant Joseph Lyons.
 Lieutenant Raynsford Cytherus Longley.
 Lieutenant Henry James Alderson.
 Lieutenant John Edward Ruck Keene.
 Lieutenant Henry Arbuthnot.
 Lieutenant Stuart Maxwell.
 Lieutenant Arthur Ridout.
 Lieutenant Henry Hamilton Conolly.
 Lieutenant John Andrew Price.
 Lieutenant John Henry Brown.
 Lieutenant Walter Aston Fox Strangways.
 Lieutenant Edwin Markham.
 Lieutenant Charles Edward Torriano.
 Lieutenant William Stirling.
 Lieutenant Ernest Courtenay Vaughan.
 Lieutenant Henry Percy Tiffard.
 Lieutenant Legh Delves Broughton.
 Lieutenant Francis Walter de Winton.
 Lieutenant Henry John Foquett Ellis Hickey.
 Lieutenant Noel Hamly Harris.
 Lieutenant William James Hall.
 Lieutenant Frederick Coulthurst Elton.
 Surgeon Stanhope Hunter Fasson.
 Surgeon William Pearson Ward.
 Assistant-surgeon Thomas Park.
 Assistant-surgeon Arthur Henry Taylor.
 Veterinary-surgeon John Surtees Stockley.
 Commissary William Young.
 Assistant-commissary John Isaac Lilley.
 Assistant-commissary Arthur Hunt.
 Sergeant-major William Norton.

Quartermaster-sergeant George Mervin.
 Sergeant Joseph Mitchell, 6th company, 11th battalion.
 Sergeant Thomas Mitchell, 2nd company, 8th battalion.
 Sergeant John Devine.
 Sergeant George Kerr, 12th battalion.
 Sergeant Robert Bruce.
 Corporal John Hargreaves, 4th company, 12th battalion.
 Corporal John Stevenson, 1th company, 12th battalion.
 Hugh Wheatley, 6th company, 12th battalion.
 William Todd, 6th company, 11th battalion.
 William Hendra, 1st company, 12th battalion.
 Robert Burke, 6th company, 11th battalion.
 John Gibbs, 8th company, 3rd battalion.
 John Mac Veight, 4th company, 11th battalion.

ENGINEERS.

Lieutenant-colonel George Bent.
 Lieutenant-colonel Eustace Fane Bouchier.
 Lieutenant-colonel Edward Stanton.
 Major James Frankfort Manners Browne.
 Major Horace William Montagu.
 Captain Francis Horatio De Vere.
 Lieutenant Arthur A'Court Fisher.
 Lieutenant Gerald Graham.
 Lieutenant John Clayton Cowell.
 Lieutenant John Frecheville Dykes Donnelly.
 Lieutenant Howard Craufurd Elphinstone.
 Lieutenant Glastonbury Neville.
 Lieutenant William Christian Anderson.
 Lieutenant Charles Nassau Martin.
 Lieutenant John Mervin Cutcliffe Drake.
 Lieutenant Charles George Gordon.
 Sergeant John Landry.

SAFTERS AND MINERS.

Sergeant Henry Macdonald.
 Sergeant Joseph Stanton.
 Sergeant George Jarvis.
 Sergeant Peter Leitch.
 Sergeant Samuel Cole.
 Corporal John Paul.
 Corporal Joseph Collins.

THE NAVY.

COMMANDER.

Rear-admiral Sir Houston Stewart

OFFICERS.

Rear-admirals.

Sir Stephen Lushington. Charles Graham.
 Frederic Thomas Michell. Thomas Wren Carter.

Captains.

Henry Keppel. Thomas Abel B. Spratt.
 Lewis Tobias Jones. Sherard Osborne.
 William Peel. Colonel Thomas Hurdle.
 William Moorson. Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Holloway.
 William Robert Mends.

KNIGHTS.

Captains.

John James Bartholomew Augustus Frederick Ky-
 Edward Freer. naston.
 William Farquharson Bur- Richard Ashmore Powell.
 nett. John Borlase.
 Leopold George Heath. Rowley Lambert.
 Henry Schenk Hulyar. John James Kennedy.
 Geo. Granville Randolph. Cowper Phipps Coles.
 Lord John Hay. Henry Downing Rogers.

Commanders.

William Montague Dowell. William Horton.
 John Edmund Commerell. John Hay Crang.
 William Rae Rolland. James Bull.
 Henry Lloyd. Samuel Pritchard.
 William Bowden. John William Whyte.
 John Proctor Luce. Radulphus Bryce Oldfield.
 William Gore Jones. William Bradazon Un-
 William Armytage. ston.
 Henry Frederick McKillop. Henry James Raby.
 John Francis C. McKenzie. John Halliday Cave.

Commanders—continued.

Joseph Henry Marryat.	John Clark Byng.
George Flott Day.	Charles Gerveys Grylls.
Hubert Campion.	Edward Hardinge.
Cecil William Buckley.	Hugh Talbot Burgoyne.
Frederick William Gough.	Alfred Mitchell.

Masters & Second Masters.

Cornelius Thomas Augustus Noddal.	Narcissus Arguinbeau.
William Thomas Mainprise.	Edward Codrington Ball.
Robert Wilson Roberts.	Lieut. Ed. Wolfe Brooker.
George Williams.	Frederick Robert Glyndor.
Thomas Potter.	Llewellyn.
	William Hennessey Parker.

Lieutenants, &c.

Colin Andrew Campbell.	John Hayles.
Charles Frederick Palmer.	Richard Verey.
Osborn William Dalyell.	George Greenirk Dunlop.
Wm. N. Wright Hewett.	Richard Rowe.
Horatio Laurence Arthur.	Robert Spilsbury.
Lennox Maitland.	Joseph Kellaway.
William Derinzy Donaldson Selby.	J. Shepherd, <i>Royal Albert</i> .
Andrew James Kennedy.	William Rickard, quarter-
George Parsons.	master of the <i>Weser</i> .
Henry Knox Leet.	John Cleverly, <i>London</i> .
John Brazier Creagh.	John Taylor, <i>London</i> .
John Barber Barnett.	John Sullivan, <i>Rodney</i> .
Thos. Livingstone Pearson.	Chas. Willis, <i>Agamemnon</i> .
Neale Dotin F. Lillingston.	Wm. Allen, <i>Agamemnon</i> .
John Robert Dene Cooper.	Peter Hamlin, <i>Carlew</i> .
Rich. Ramsay Armstrong.	George Milestone, <i>Weser</i> .
Frederick Wm. Hallows.	J. Trewavas, <i>Agamemnon</i> .
Gordon Cornwallis Sinclair.	Lieut.-Col. Geo. Gardiner
Henry Evelyn Wood.	Alexander, Naval Brigade.
Edward St. John Daniel.	Major W. Friend Hopkins.
David James Simpson.	Major Wm. Henry March.
Frederick Cleeve.	Major Geo. Stephen Digby.
David Deas, inspector of	Captain David Blyth.
fleet hospitals.	Capt. Geo. Brydges Rodney.
John Rees, deputy ditto.	Lieut. Frederick Geo. Pym.
James Walsh, surgeon.	Lieut. Arthur Chas. Steele.
Wm. E. K. Smart, surgeon.	Lieut. Archib. A. Douglas.
James Jenkins, surgeon.	Lieut. Harrison John Jull.
Thomas Baker, inspector of	Sergeant Charles Horner.
machinery.	Sergeant George Yule.
George Murdoch, engineer.	Sergeant Edwin Richards.
John D. Langley, engineer.	Sergeant John Jordan.
William Rumble, engineer.	Corporal Wm. Chappel.
Frank Harger, purser.	Thomas Wilkinson.
John Beal, purser.	John Bull.
George William Muir.	Thomas Kerr.
John Roberts.	John Bunton.
	John Osborn.

The French government made a liberal distribution of the military war medals among the British troops in the Crimea, and such as returned home without having obtained the distinction on the scene of their noble exploits. This mark of attention the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the English army exceedingly prized, and it was productive of advantage in sustaining a good feeling between the two armies.

The following is an abstract of the statistical report of Marshal Vaillant, Minister of War. It is an important document, and furnishes all the official information necessary connected with the supplies, dispatch, sustenance, and return of the French army.

"The report commences with remarking on the immense resources required for the transport and maintenance of upwards of 200,000 men in the East, three-fourths of whom were

French. Then follows a table, showing the number of men sent out, and of those returned. The former, comprising not only those embarked in France, but also those shipped from Algeria, Corsica, and Civita Vecchia, amounted to 309,268 men, with 41,974 horses. The losses amounted to 69,229 men, including 1781 missing, and 292 lost in the shipwreck of the *Sémillante*. The total number of men returned was 227,135, leaving a difference of 12,904 men to be accounted for. These comprise partly all who, without belonging to the army, followed it to its destination, and partly the officers and men sent to the East at different times, the wounded sent home and who had gone out again, &c. Most of the horses sent out have been sold to the Ottoman government, only 9000 having returned to France and Algeria.

"The document then proceeds to give a long list of new regiments or squadrons levied for the occasion, the creation of the Imperial Guard, and the additions made to different regiments. Nearly all the troops were embarked either at Toulon or Marseilles, under the direction of General Rostolan, whose zeal in that service is acknowledged in terms of the highest praise. All the orders of the emperor and of the minister of war were transmitted by telegraph with the greatest regularity and promptitude. The troops were encamped at different points of the 8th and 9th military divisions, and not sent to Toulon or Marseilles until there were vessels ready to receive them. A committee of officers, under the presidency of a general, inspected the berths, and fixed the number of men and horses to be taken on board, so as to prevent overcrowding; and each detachment received, on embarking, printed instructions concerning sanitary precautions, and the rules to be observed on first landing in the East. Medicines and physicians were provided for merchant-vessels as well as for those of the state. The wounded or convalescent sent home were received on landing in a special depot, where they were nursed for a few days, after which they were sent either to the depot of their regiment, or to the place where they were to enjoy their furlough. The hospital accommodation on the coasts of the Mediterranean had been considerably increased in order to meet the exigencies of the war, and the sick who arrived were sent to other hospitals, further inland, as soon as they were able to bear the journey.

"When it became certain that the troops were to return to France, it was ascertained that typhus fever was raging in the Crimea and at Constantinople. The emperor, being anxious about that state of things, ordered three extensive camps, provided with all possible hospital conveniences, to be established

on the shores of the Mediterranean, at the Isle of Porquerolles, at the Ile St. Marguerite, and on the beach of Cavalaire, near St. Tropez—the last being set apart more particularly for cavalry. Similar arrangements were effected in the ports of Algeria, where a considerable portion of the troops were to land. The report here enters at some length into an account of the sanitary measures determined on, and then proceeds to show that so excellent were the precautions taken, that very little necessity was found to exist for these establishments, and now they have for some time ceased to exist.

“A delay of six months from the 27th of April, the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of peace, had been fixed for the complete evacuation of the territory occupied by the allies. That operation commenced on the 11th of April, and in less than three months after, on the 5th of July, notwithstanding all the embarrassments and delays caused by the malady which then prevailed in the army, Marshal Pelissier, who desired to himself superintend the re-embarkation of all his soldiers, left the Crimea the last of all; and on the 18th of August, Constantinople beheld the last of the French troops leave her shores under General Pariset.

“The report then gives an account of the artillery and material which were at the disposal of the army of the East, and which consisted of 1676 guns of large calibre, 2083 gun-carriages, 2740 waggons, 2,128,000 shot and shells, and 4,000,000 kilogrammes of powder. It then proceeds in the following terms:—‘As soon as the expedition to the Crimea was determined on, a siege-train of sixty guns, which had been collected at Toulon to provide for all eventualities, was embarked and dispatched to the Crimea. It was with this siege-train that we presented ourselves before Sebastopol. The energy of the defence; the immense quantity of cannon possessed by the town; the absence of a regular investment, which lent to the siege a peculiar character, by allowing the enemy to replenish their stores, speedily proved the insufficiency of the means of attack, and measures were therefore taken to give them a sufficient development. Three supplementary siege-trains were dispatched to the Crimea: the first of 58 pieces, the second of 46, the third of 150. Each piece was supplied with from 1500 to 2000 rounds. The Pyrotechnic School succeeded in constructing 7000 to 8000 rockets, having a flight of from 5000 to 7000 metres, which were sent to the sea of war. The commander-in-chief of the army withdrew from the arsenal of Constantinople 140 pieces of cannon and an immense amount of powder. He demanded from the fleet, for the arming of his batteries during

the course of the siege, 605 cannon of the heaviest calibre, of which 238 were firing in the last days of the siege. Finally, as the defence was prolonged, the emperor commanded 400 mortars to be sent out, each supplied with 1000 rounds, which were to bombard the place without cessation, and render the Russian works uninhabitable. By this means more than 830 shells could have been thrown every hour, or 14 every minute, during 20 consecutive days and nights. A portion of these mortars only were placed in battery, the siege having terminated before the remainder arrived. The consumption of gunpowder was enormous, and exceeded 4,850,000 kilogrammes. The transport of all this immense amount of material, which weighed above 50,000,000 kilogrammes, would have been impossible in times when railroads did not exist; but with the network of lines which connect Marseilles with the principal cities of the empire, impossibilities disappeared, and not the slightest delay ever occurred to interrupt or disturb the continued embarkations. Such was, besides, the care which presided over these operations, that 3,000,000 kilogrammes of gunpowder, 70,000,000 infantry cartridges, 270,000 rounds for field-pieces, and an immense quantity of bombs, shells, and other articles arrived at their destination without an accident. The artillery, seconded by six companies of marines, by sailors from the fleet, and by the assistance of infantry, constructed, armed, and served during the siege, 118 batteries. These batteries necessitated the employment of 800,000 sandbags and 50,000 gabions. On the day of assault their armament was composed of 620 pieces. They had fired more than 1,100,000 rounds, and had consumed more than 3,000,000 kilogrammes of powder. In spite of this enormous consumption, which has no equal in history, each piece remained, after the capture, supplied with from 800 to 900 rounds. Forty pieces were alone unserviceable. The material brought back to France amounts to 50,000,000 kilogrammes, of which 12,000,000 had belonged to Russia.’

“The report then goes into a detail of the different *matériel* of the engineering department, giving both the numbers and the total weights of the different articles. Among them were 920,000 sandbags, 250 ladders of different kinds, &c.; and, in short, an immense supply of every kind of tool that could be required. The wood to be employed for siege-works, and the construction of temporary hospitals, hut-barracks, and storehouses for provisions and stores, weighed 7,971,600 kilogrammes; tar, 223,000 kilogrammes; canvas for covering huts, 10,000 kilogrammes, &c. The total weight amounted to 14,159,520 kilogrammes, and that of the *matériel* brought back

to 2,400,000 kilogrammes. The document then observes:—‘The engineering, mining, and siege implements were furnished chiefly by the engineering arsenals of Metz and Algiers, but partly by private industry. One thousand and fifty wooden huts for 30,000 men were embarked in the month of February, 1855; and 1850 for 45,000 men were ordered in England, and left Southampton in January, 1855. Every hut was supplied with a stove. Stabling for about 10,000 horses was made in Paris, and embarked at Marseilles in January, 1855. The engineers dug, in the course of this ever-memorable siege, 20 leagues of trenches, employed 80,000 gabions, 60,000 fascines, and nearly 1,000,000 sandbags. The bays of Kamiesch and Kazatch were defended by a line of works connected by redoubts, known as the lines of Kamiesch, which was 8000 metres long. These lines were formed of a broad parapet, protected by a ditch hollowed out of the rock, and were flanked by eight heavily-armed redoubts. But what above all distinguishes this siege from all others is the immense difficulties of the covered ways made in the rock by means of blasting with gunpowder, and in front of a fortified place, having for garrison a whole army, constantly renewed and supplied with provisions. One obstacle included in those triumphed over by the engineers was the skilful subterranean defence of the enemy, which formed an immense network of passages, 6000 metres in extent, and established in the rock, in the form of several galleries, one over the other, the deepest of which was 16 metres beneath the earth.’

“The commissariat supplies dispatched to the army comprised the following articles:—Biscuits, 12,792,300 kilogrammes; flour, 21,405 kilogrammes; dried vegetables, 193,000 kilogrammes; preserved vegetables, 341,900 kilogrammes; rice, 3,586,800 kilogrammes; salt, 79,400 kilogrammes; sugar, 2,763,100 kilogrammes; coffee, 2,149,600 kilogrammes; salt pork, 5,242,400 kilogrammes; salt beef, 518,200 kilogrammes; preserved beef, 3,053,700 kilogrammes; fresh meat, 10,000 head; wine, 116,567 hectolitres; brandy and rum, 13,766 hectolitres; firewood, 1,944,900 kilogrammes; coal, 15,772,300 kilogrammes; hay, 77,403,400 kilogrammes; barley or oats, 83,700,000 kilogrammes. The amount of commissariat stores brought back to France amounted to about 25,000,000 kilogrammes. The transport of the supplies taken out was effected in 1800 voyages; the cargoes were loaded at ports in the following countries:—460 in France, 566 in Algeria, 4 in Spain, 77 in England, 5 in Belgium, 600 in Italy, 88 in Egypt and Syria.

“The report, under the head of clothing and equipments, gives the following list:—‘Flannel belts, 654,882; portable tents, 347,319; camp blankets, 371,787; calico shirts, 354,529;

leather gaiters, 42,527 pairs; linen gaiters, 163,429 pairs; grey linen trousers, 9000; shoes, 328,269 pairs; boots with spurs, 22,396 pairs; drawers, 132,336; houses, 25,010; supports for portable tents, 183,265; cotton cravats, 200,000; wooden shoes, 238,597 pairs; worsted socks, 189,162 pairs; greatcoats with collar and hood, 251,399; worsted stockings, 220,000 pairs; worsted gloves, 215,000 pairs; comforters, 253,576; sheepskin coats, 90,000 pairs; Bulgarian gaiters, 163,739 pairs; sheepskin gaiters, 15,000.’

“The above list of articles of clothing is followed by another of camp equipage, which it is needless to specify, but which was most abundantly supplied. The number of horse-shoes stands in the list at 817,216, and the horseshoe nails at 6,193,400. The report then makes the following observations:—‘The camp material which existed in the government stores, at the opening of the war, was only sufficient for the wants of an army of from 70,000 to 80,000 men; but, by means of private contracts, the number of tents for the East was in a short period raised to an amount sufficient to shelter 280,000 men, exclusive of those designed for officers. The first tents were constructed with a roof; but the experience of the hurricane of the 14th of November, 1854, proved that the conical form employed in Turkey offered a greater resistance to the weather, and that form was afterwards adopted in the construction of all the tents dispatched in 1855. An important portion of the camp material and clothing was not made use of, and was brought back to France and Algeria.’

“The document then gives a list of the different articles supplied for the service of the hospitals. Among them were 12,000 iron bedsteads; 15,000 wooden ditto, purchased in Turkey; 39,500 blankets in wool, and 3500 cotton; 30,000 mattresses; 546 cases, complete, of surgical instruments of all kinds; 133,000 kilogrammes of large and small linens for dressings; 32,000 roller bands; 49,000 kilogrammes of lint; 80,000 kilogrammes of different kinds of linens for dressings; 5000 trusses for ruptures; 8000 kilogrammes concentrated milk; 1000 kilogrammes of portable soup; 3000 kilogrammes of granulated gluten; 25,000 kilogrammes of preserved vegetables. On these articles the report remarks:—‘The 27,000 beds collected during the first few months of the war represented a greater number than those contained in the permanent military hospitals of all France, where there exist only 19,000 beds. According to orders received from the emperor, a religious service was organised, and spiritual assistance was always at the call of the soldier. The hospital attendants displayed the greatest devotedness,

and, with the admirable Sisters of St. Vincent de Paulo watched over the wounded and sick, both in the ambulances and hospitals, with incessant attention. The Catholic service in the fourteen hospitals in Constantinople was confided to the congregation of Lazarists, which has a college in that city. . . . Each ambulance waggon contained 2000 sets of linen for the dressing of wounds; consequently the army was provided with 220,000 sets, which were replaced by supplies from Constantinople. . . . Concentrated milk, portable soup from England, and preserved vegetables were found of great value, and will in future form part of all hospital stores. About a third of the hospital *matériel* was brought back to France.'

"Among the principal articles mentioned in the list of military equipages are 920 military waggons, 118 ambulance waggons, 177 park waggons, 70 portable forges, 4796 sets of harness, 2560 saddles, 16,611 horse-cloths, spare articles for replacing with wood, iron, &c., for repairs, making up a weight of 2,700,000 kilogrammes. On this point the report observes:—'The means of land transport possessed by the army of the East, considerable as they were (11,000 men and 8000 horses or mules), would have been unable to assure the perfect execution of the services required without the conveyances purchased in the East and in France. This auxiliary material consisted of 400 Maltese carts, 300 Marseilles carts, 100 Bonkoure carts, and 1600 Turkish arabas and tekis. At the end of the campaign there existed at the disposal of the commander-in-chief, 2728 native drivers, 11,346 animals (horses, mules, oxen, and buffaloes), and 2425 carts of all kinds. The harness and other material sent out represented a weight of 7956 tons.'

"The report then briefly refers to the organisation of a civil administration at Kamiesch, and the means taken to ascertain and note down the death of all persons connected with the army. It also speaks of the means adopted for paying the troops. Everything in this department was so perfectly organised that the troops received their pay and allowances exactly as they had done in France. The persons intrusted with that department were also placed over the post-office department. The report on this point says:—'The service of the treasury has been assured, as in preceding campaigns, by the following means—1. The direct dispatch of funds. 2. Realisation on the spot by the issue of bills. The latter plan produced important results, and the favour which the bills of the treasury obtained in the East was so great, that it was necessary to issue some of 20,000f. and 10,000f. The issues amounted to as much as 12,000,000f. a month. The payments effected in the East from the month

of April, 1854, from the credits granted by the minister of war, amounted, to July 1st, 1856, to 285,646,160f. 45c., of which 275,157,340f. 64c. were on draughts of the Intendance Militaire, 1,911,265f. 16c. on those of the chiefs of service of the artillery, and 8,274,551f. 65c. on those of the chiefs of the service of engineers. The expenses of the war have always been verified, paid, and definitely examined within the periods fixed by the regulations for the expenses on a peace footing, an advantageous solution in every point of view, and the more remarkable from the fact that in no preceding war could such a result be obtained.'

"At the commencement of the campaign the necessity of establishing rapid communications between head-quarters and detached corps was at once recognised. With this view, a corps composed of two inspectors, five directors, and fifty-one clerks, furnished with sixteen portable semaphore telegraphs, was dispatched to the Crimea. Subsequently, the English government having had the idea of connecting Balaklava and Varna by a submarine telegraph, the emperor ordered at once that Varna should be placed in connection with the Germanic telegraphs. In a short time the line from Bucharest to Varna, sixty leagues in length, was established and united to the submarine cable. A lithographic press, which had been attached to head-quarters at the opening of the campaign, being found insufficient, a printing-press was dispatched to the Crimea by the care of the director of the imperial printing establishments. The report then refers as follows to the measures adopted for conveying troops and stores:—'The imperial navy, without ceasing to meet all the other wants of the service, co-operated as follows in the work of transport:—thirty-two sail of the line, thirty-eight frigates, twenty-one corvettes, twenty-four transports, and seventeen small steamers, making together 132 vessels, made 905 voyages, and transported either out or home 270,780 men, 4266 and 116,661 tons of *matériel*. The English government placed at the disposal of the emperor eight vessels of the Royal Navy and forty-two merchantmen, chartered by the Admiralty, which carried together to the East 38,353 men, 1972 horses, and 6624 tons of stores. The French War Department chartered, in 1854 and 1855, sixty-six steamers and 1198 sailing vessels of all sizes. The sixty-six steamers and twenty-two large clippers formed a kind of fleet which, until the end of the war, kept constantly running to and fro between the East and the different ports where the supplies were collected. The steam-packets of the Compagnie des Messageries Impériales also carried troops and stores twice a week. For bringing back the army the War Department continued to employ

forty-eight steamers and 253 sailing vessels, of which fourteen were large clippers. The total transport effected by the War Department amounted to 221,270 men, 44,736 horses or mules, and 601,251 tons of stores. In addition to the means of transport indicated above, the *intendant-général* in the Crimea and the military intendant at Constantinople chartered a great number of vessels for revictualling the army. These vessels were exclusively employed in conveying to the Crimea the provisions and forage purchased on the coast of the Black Sea and in other parts of Turkey. The *ensemble* of the maritime transports may be thus summed up:—Sent to the East 309,268 men, 41,974 horses, and 597,686 tons of stores; brought back, 227,135 men, 9000 horses, and 126,850 tons of stores; making together, 536,403 men, 50,974 horses, and 724,536 tons.

"The report concludes as follows:—'The troops and stores embarked at Marseilles were conveyed to that port principally by the railway from Paris to the Mediterranean, and had that line not existed the operations of the war would certainly have lost much of their unity and rapidity. The emperor, in throwing back his thoughts to a few years only, may remember with satisfaction that one of his energetic initiative was to remove the obstacles which, up to that period, had prevented the termination of that great line which was promptly

destined to contribute to the brilliant success of his army.'"

Small as was the part taken by the navy of France in the war, its losses were great. The *Moniteur de la Flotte* published the returns of the casualties experienced by the French imperial navy during the expeditions to the Crimea, the Baltic, and Petropaulovski, in 1854, 1855, and 1856. The ships' crews lost eleven officers and 144 seamen killed by the enemy's fire, and thirty-nine officers and 3237 men who died of their wounds or from sickness—in all, fifty officers and 3381 men; the naval artillery corps had two officers and thirty-one non-commissioned officers and soldiers killed, and three officers and 231 non-commissioned officers who died of their wounds or from sickness—in all, five officers and 262 men; and the marine infantry, nine officers and seventy-three non-commissioned officers and men killed, and twelve officers and 1057 non-commissioned officers and men who died of their wounds or from sickness—in all, twenty-one officers and 1130 men. Total—270 killed and 4579 dead; in all, 4849.

As this chapter has been chiefly devoted to the home events bearing upon the war in connection with our ally, the next will be devoted to such remaining incidents as concern England more especially.

CHAPTER CXXV.

HOME EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE WAR CONTINUED.—PARTY DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT.—GREAT NAVAL REVIEW AT PORTSMOUTH.—INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE YEAR.—PROCLAMATION OF PEACE.—PUBLIC THANKSGIVING.—ORDERS AND DECORATIONS FOR THE ARMY AND NAVY.

"What the citizens are of a state such are the soldiers. If the former deal with public affairs resolutely and wisely, respecting and maintaining independence, liberty, and order, the army will be brave, well-disciplined, and equally characterised by foresight and enterprise."—*Extract from a Leader, written by the Author of this History, in a London Journal.*

THE parliamentary debates in England were very stormy during the whole session; and just as the policy of the war had been eagerly discussed in previous sessions, so the policy of the peace was discussed with much fervour in this. One of the subjects which most fiercely engaged the opposite parties in the legislature was the application of the Turkish loan, the granting of which had so nearly broken up the ministry on a previous occasion. It was now contended that by withholding the instalments from the Turkish government it was unable to meet the requirements of its armies, to pay or feed the troops either in the Crimea or Asia; and that if the Turkish loan had been paid, the Porte would have seasonably sent troops and resources to General Williams. The government declared that it had been laid under

necessity in its mode of distributing the loan, as so thoroughly did peculation prevail among the pashas, and in the whole administration of the sultan's service, civil and military, that the money would have been applied to personal purposes had it not been carefully doled out by the English government. That error existed in the way the agents of the British government managed this matter could hardly be disputed, but that the motive was good where the mode was bad was equally plain; and no one could doubt, who knew anything of Turkish affairs, that the whole loan would have been plundered by the pashas, if some precautions had not been taken against such an event. The matter was not investigated in the British parliament in a spirit of fair and loyal inquiry, but debated with a temper and

party spirit undignified and unpatriotic. The opposition dishonoured themselves, their party, and country, in this and other of the sessional debates.

Sir de Laey Evans made an attempt to convince the house that the purchase of commissions in the army was bad in principle and in policy; but neither the extensive support which he received, nor his own knowledge, experience, and eloquence, enabled him to overcome the prejudice or the power of those who were in favour of the old order of things. The gallant general had to defend himself against wanton and malicious attack; he committed the crime, in the eyes of a large section of the house, of being true to the popular institutions of his country, and of desiring to conform the army to their spirit, as far as the nature of military institutions allowed.

Among the incidents which drew forth attention was a visit from the King of the Belgians to the queen. His majesty's visits generally precluded some political movement, and therefore excited considerable interest among the quidnuncs of London clubs and coffee-houses. The king's visit was, however, unostentatious, and whether it was connected with the political movements in Paris never clearly transpired. It may have been only a visit of affection and courtesy to his royal niece and nephew.

On the 23rd of April one of the grandest sights ever witnessed from the shores of England was presented at Portsmouth. Never were the waters of the Solent so crowded with "craft of all dimensions" as on that day. Notwithstanding the shameful failures of the English navy in the Pacific, and the dilatory proceedings of the Admiralty, which rendered the blockades in the White Sea so much less effective than they ought to have been—although the massacre of Sinope did take place, and "Old Charley" nursed his gout or drank his grog, when he ought to have been reconnoitring Sweaborg,—still the Russian navy of the Euxine had perished rather than meet Dundas; the stores, granaries, and fisheries, were swept from the coasts of the Sea of Azoff; and not a ship of the enemy dare put to sea for two years in the Baltic. After all, Britannia did "rule the waves," and was more able to rule them than ever.

The fleet was assembled for her majesty's personal review, and consisted of 240 steam vessels, including gun-boats, mortar-boats, and floating batteries. There were three vessels of 100 guns each, six of 91, an equal number of 80 guns, and vessels of every order; frigates, brigs, sloops, &c., had their proportionate numbers. The steam-power equalled that of 31,000 horses, and the guns carried were 3000. The fleet covered a space of twelve

miles, and was manned by 30,000 sailors and marines.

From every part of the British Isles, and from various parts of the continent, visitors crowded to witness the glorious array. A beautiful French screw corvette made her appearance, having on board Rear-admiral La Gravière, and about forty officers of rank in the French navy. The day was sunny as April days in the pleasant south of England so often are, and nothing occurred to mar the enjoyment which the vast multitude expected. At eight o'clock the whole fleet was "dressed," gay flags flaunted in the air from every appropriate position; martial music from French and English ships sounded sweetly over the scarcely rippled waters; and the sea gleamed with light, as if it exulted in the smile of the morning sky. The beautiful clearness of the scene was not dimmed by the smoke of the steamers, for an Admiralty order had been issued to burn anthracite. Everything connected with the Admiralty was destined, however, to exhibit some mismanagement, from the proclamation of war until, in the pride of victory, the fleets of England were paraded before their queen; it was, therefore, not surprising that the rule to burn anthracite was disregarded by the Admiralty itself—for its own yacht, the *Black Eagle*, steamed up to the fleet with a huge volume of smoke reeking from its funnels.

Her majesty arrived by train at mid-day, and proceeded on board her yacht, the *Victoria and Albert*, having in her suite the Marquis Townsend, Mr. Osborne, secretary to the Admiralty, Sir Edmund Lyons, and Admiral de la Gravière. As the yacht steamed out towards Spithead the multitudes rent the air with their acclamations. The ships also manned their yards as her majesty's vessel passed. The manœuvres were conducted with great skill, and without accident; and her majesty's cheek was flushed with pride and pleasure to behold these "wooden walls" of Old England still impregnable. Her majesty did not return to London until six o'clock in the evening. At nine the fleet was illuminated, and seldom was a more brilliant sight witnessed in connection with a pyrotechnic display. The yards and port-holes were simultaneously lit with blue-lights, and the effects produced by the difference of elevation, the extensive line of the ships, and the reflection of the water, were unique and beautiful. So sudden was the gush of light that the multitudes on shore raised a mighty and simultaneous cheer, which was answered vociferously by the tars, whose cheers were followed by flights of rockets and a display of other fireworks. Sir George Seymour, the commander of the fleet, entertained the officers at the Admiralty

House, and the gentlemen of the French navy were treated with marked distinction.

The *mal apropos* smoking of the Admiralty yacht was not the only blunder committed by "the board." It was a part of the programme of this brilliant day that her majesty should be attended in passing through the fleet by the members of both houses of parliament. Their lordships and honourable members proceeded by rail to Southampton, and were delayed two hours by the breaking down of an engine. When they arrived at Southampton Water there was but one tender provided for so large a number of gentlemen. The steamers *Transit* and *Perseverance* received them from on board the tender. The peers passed into the *Transit*, but she was an incapable hulk, and their lordships did not arrive until the review was nearly at a close. Yet this miserable ship was afterwards used to transport large bodies of troops, when fresh disasters to her machinery exposed her still more noble freight to imminent destruction. If Mr. Osborne was right in saying that the *Serpentine* should be turned through the Horse Guards, as the Admiralty is not far off, it would be a pity not to give it the same benefit. Explanations were demanded in parliament of this disgraceful proceeding. Lord Campbell said it enabled him to understand the doings at Balaklava, and he no longer wondered at the misfortunes which occurred there. He declared that such scenes of confusion and mismanagement he never before witnessed. The government could give no explanation—it was the fault of the "system" somehow, no one knew how; but as the *Times* pertinently asked on another occasion—"Who made the system, who keeps it up, and who by mal-administration renders it still worse than it is?" Mr. Stafford declared that affairs were conducted in the East, as he had constantly witnessed, precisely in the same way. The press of the Continent and of the United States made merry at the expense of the English government and people, and tauntingly asked of what avail were the greatest naval resources, and the bravest men, if the people did not possess genius to manage these resources, or that the character of their administrative institutions was such as to deprive that genius of its legitimate opportunity. On the whole, the effect of the review with the people and with foreigners was to raise the resources of England in their esteem, but to lower still more their respect for the administrative talent of those in official places.

The financial returns for the year ending with March, 1856, were most encouraging, and proved the great pecuniary resources of England for war or peace. The following is a brief abstract of income and expenditure:—
"The public income for the year ended the

31st of March, 1856, amounted to £70,552,145 against £64,091,571 in 1855, and the expenditure to £93,149,310 against £70,236,817 in 1855. Thus there was an excess of expenditure over income in 1855-56 of £22,597,165, and an excess of £6,145,216 in the year 1854-55. The customs (in 1855-56) yielded £35,635,552; the excise, £5,210,384; stamps, £7,063,610; the assessed and land taxes, £3,136,077; the income-tax, £15,159,458 against £10,922,267 in the year ended the 31st of March, 1855; the post-office, £2,767,201; and crown lands, £421,715. The duties on spirits and wines remain very stationary; those on malt, coffee, tobacco, snuff, and sugar have increased. The house-tax yields £728,689, and land-taxes £1,157,525. The expenditure in 1855-56 included £2,863,353; for collecting the revenue, £28,112,825; for the public debt, £1,695,052; for the civil government, £3,192,420; for law and justice, £366,443; for diplomatic salaries, £47,461,188; for the army, navy, and ordnance (against £28,321,707 in the preceding year), and £4,200,000 for the vote of credit (war with Russia). The army cost the country £17,395,059; the navy, £19,654,585, and the ordnance, £10,411,544. The civil list, privy purse, the salaries of the royal household, and the payments of the queen's tradespeople include the sum total of £371,808, and the allowances to the several branches of the Royal family £151,788. King Leopold repays into the exchequer £33,500 out of his pension of £50,000, after making sundry deductions for the discharge of annuities and pensions to the establishment of the late Princess Charlotte."

On the 29th of April peace was proclaimed. Great curiosity was felt by the public, and early in the day crowds assembled in the neighbourhoods of St. James's Palace and along Charing Cross. About twelve the procession left the Palace Yard, when three blasts were given from a trumpet, and "garter king-of-arms" read aloud the proclamation; the people gave three cheers, the trumpets gave another blast, and the procession proceeded on its way to Charing Cross, in the following order:—A troop of the 2nd Life Guards, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Ogilvy; the beadies of Westminster, walking two and two, with staves; the high constable, with his staff, on horseback; the high bailiff and deputy-steward of Westminster; knight marshal's men, two and two; drums, drum-major, trumpets, and sergeant-trumpeter; Sir Charles Young, garter king-of-arms, on horseback; three pursuivants, habited in their tabards—viz., Mr. J. R. Planché, rouge croix, riding alone, followed by H. M. Lane, blue mantle, and Mr. G. W. Collen, portcullis, riding abreast, and flanked on each side by three

sergeants-at-arms, three of whom carried each a gold mace; four heralds, also habited in tabards, riding two and two abreast—viz., Mr. W. Courthope, Somerset herald, Mr. G. Harrison, Windsor herald, Mr. T. W. King, York herald, and Mr. A. W. Woods, Lancaster herald; Mr. R. Laurie, Norroy king-of-arms, followed by another troop of Life Guards, bringing up the rear. When the party reached Charing Cross, the proclamation was read for the second time by Norroy king-of-arms, “looking towards Whitehall,” in conformity with ancient precedent. The proclamation itself was as follows:—

“Whereas, a definite treaty of peace and friendship between us and our allies and his imperial majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, was concluded at Paris on the 30th day of March last, and the ratifications thereof have now been duly exchanged; in conformity whereunto we have thought fit hereby to command that the same be published throughout all our dominions; and we do declare to all our loving subjects our will and pleasure that the said treaty of peace and friendship be observed inviolably, as well by sea as by land, and in all cases whatsoever, strictly charging and commanding all our loving subjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly. Given at our court at Buckingham Palace this 28th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1856, and in the 19th year of our reign.—God save the Queen.”

At Temple Bar, according to custom, the city gates were closed. The junior pursuivant, after three soundings of the trumpet, gave the knocks, upon which the city marshal demanded —“Who comes there?” The pursuivant replied that they were “Officers of arms,” and were come for the proclamation of peace. The pursuivant was then permitted to enter alone, to present his warrant to the lord mayor. His lordship then authorised the opening of the gates, and the procession entered the city amidst the cheers of the multitude. The proclamation was read within the city bounds, and the lord mayor took his place in the procession as it moved on to the Mansion House and the Royal Exchange, where the proclamation was read for the last time. The concourse was very great all along the line, especially within the city; but there was no grandeur nor even dignity in the way in which the matter was conducted; and although the people cheered, especially at Temple Bar and the Exchange, there was no enthusiasm; all felt, however, the importance of the event thus formally recognised.

The first act of the government in connection with the proclamation of peace was the appropriate one of appointing a day of public thanksgiving. The 4th of May was selected for that

purpose, and was recognised by nearly all the religious communities in the British Isles.

Scarcely had the day of religious acknowledgments to God for the providential bestowment of peace passed away, when the fierce party spirit of the British parliament broke loose. On the 5th of May the Earl of Ellesmere proposed a vote of the peers upon a congratulatory address to her majesty. His lordship lauded the good faith of Russia in terms which were all falsified by subsequent events, when only in the result of another conference at Paris, and renewed demonstrations of force on the part of England and Austria, Russia fulfilled her part of the treaty stipulations. His lordship was equally unfortunate in his panegyrics upon the French ministry, who so soon did their best to sacrifice their allies to the enemy, and accept that enemy as an ally, conniving at his perfidious designs. The conduct of France was more treacherous than that of Russia, when the good faith of all the parties to the treaty came to be tested. The motion proposed by the noble earl was happily expressed:—“That a humble address be presented to her majesty, to return to her majesty the sincere acknowledgments and thanks of this house for the important communication, which her majesty has been graciously pleased to make to this house, of the general treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of March, between her majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, by which peace has been re-established between her majesty, the Emperor of the French, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, on the one hand, and the Emperor of Russia on the other. To assure her majesty that, while we should have deemed it our duty cheerfully to afford her majesty our firm support, if it had unfortunately been found necessary to continue the war, we have learnt with joy and satisfaction that her majesty has been enabled to re-establish peace on conditions honourable to her majesty’s crown, and which fully accomplish the great objects for which the war was undertaken. To express to her majesty the great satisfaction which we feel at finding that while those alliances which have so mainly contributed to the vigorous and successful prosecution of the war have been equally effective in the consolidation of peace, powers which have not taken an active part in the war have combined with the belligerents to give additional firmness to the arrangements by which the repose of Europe is in future to be protected from disturbance. To state to her majesty that we rejoice that, notwithstanding the great exertions which the late war has rendered necessary, the resources of the empire remain unimpaired. To express our hope that the peace

which has now been concluded may, under the favour of Divine Providence, long continue to shed its blessings over Europe, and that harmony among governments, and friendly intercourse among nations, may steadily promote the progress of civilisation, and secure the welfare and happiness of mankind." This proposition was seconded by Lord Glenelg, and gave rise to a debate upon the merits of the war, in which Lord Malmesbury appeared to rather better advantage than usual, which could hardly be said for any other noble lord who took part in the debate, except Lord Clarendon, who, always able and eloquent, in this instance surpassed himself. Lord Aberdeen, while ostensibly approving of the peace, slyly depreciated the efforts of the ministry, as well as the result of their labours. A similar motion in the Commons was made by Mr. E. Denison, and seconded by Mr. H. Herbert. The debate which followed was more captious than that in the Lords, and much less clever. The speech which most ably and faithfully represented the feelings and opinions of the people of England, was that delivered by Mr. Monckton Milnes.

The home proceedings which bore upon the war of course ceased with the proclamation of peace, and the parliamentary debates attendant upon that event; but there were various incidents connected with the arrival of the troops full of interest; these, however, we reserve for another chapter, which will relate the events connected with the army, from the proclamation of peace until the arrival of the troops at home. Arrangements were made by the government to confer honour upon the troops by the distinction of various badges and orders. The following comprise the decorations thus accorded :—

I.—Medals and Clasps.

A medal was ordered for service in the Crimea, and a clasp for each of the great actions.

The following admiralty order shows the arrangement under this head for the navy :—

Admiralty, May 1, 1856.

Her majesty having been graciously pleased to signify her intention of granting the "Sebastopol" clasp to the officers and crews of her majesty's ships employed in co-operation with the land-forces in the reduction of Sebastopol, as well as a clasp, bearing on it the word "Azoff," to the officers and crews of her majesty's vessels employed in the Sea of Azoff, the lords commissioners of the Admiralty hereby give notice of the same.

The period for which the "Sebastopol" clasp is to be awarded for services as aforesaid, dates from the 1st of October, 1854, to the 9th of September, 1855.

The "Azoff" clasp will be awarded to the officers and crews of such ships as served in the Sea of Azoff between the 25th of May, 1855, and the 9th of September, 1855, as well as to the officers and men who were employed in the boats of line-of-battle ships which took part in the operations against Taganrog, or elsewhere within the Sea of Azoff.

In cases in which officers or men have been engaged in any expedition or operation in the Sea of Azoff after the 9th of September, 1855, the period for which the "Azoff" clasp is to be awarded will be extended to the 22nd of November, 1855, and the service for which the same is claimed must in such cases be duly certified.

II.—Inscriptions on Flags.

Horse Guards, October 16th, 1855.

The queen has been graciously pleased to command that, in commemoration of the gallant conduct of the troops concerned, the words "Alma," "Balaklava," and "Inkerman," be borne on the regimental colour of the regiments specified in the accompanying list.

Also that the several corps composing her majesty's army in the Crimea on the 5th of September, 1855, shall bear the inscription "Sebastopol" on the regimental standard or colour, as a memorial of the arduous and successful operations which have led to the reduction of that fortress.

Regiments which have no standards or colours will bear these distinctions on their cap or helmet-plates.

Rifle regiments will wear them on their breastplates and cap-plates.

By command of the Right Hon. Field-marshal Viscount Hardinge, commanding-in-chief.

Regiments authorised to bear the words 'Alma,' 'Balaklava,' 'Inkerman,' and 'Sebastopol.'

ALMA; BALAKLAVA; INKERMÁN; SEBASTOPOL.

4th Light Dragoons; 8th Hussars; 11th Hussars; 13th Light Dragoons; 17th Lancers.

ALMA; INKERMÁN; SEBASTOPOL.

Grenadier Guards, 3rd battalion; Coldstream Guards, 1st battalion; Scots Fusilier Guards, 1st battalion; 1st foot, 1st battalion; 1st foot, 2nd battalion; 4th foot; 7th foot; 19th, 20th, 21st, 23rd, 28th, 30th, 33rd, 38th, 41st, 44th, 47th, 49th, 50th, 55th, 63rd, 68th, 77th, 88th, and 95th foot; Rifle Brigade, 1st and 2nd battalions.

ALMA; BALAKLAVA; SEBASTOPOL.

93rd foot.

INKERMÁN; SEBASTOPOL.

57th foot.

BALAKLAVA; SEBASTOPOL.

4th Dragoon Guards; 5th Dragoon Guards; 1st Dragoons; 2nd Dragoons; 6th Dragoons.

ALMA; SEBASTOPOL.

42nd foot; 79th foot.

SEBASTOPOL.

1st Dragoon Guards; 6th Dragoon Guards; 10th Hussars; 12th Lancers; 3rd, 9th, 13th, 14th, 17th, 18th, 31st, 34th, 39th, 46th, 48th, 56th, 62nd, 71st, 72nd, 82nd, 89th, 90th, 97th.

III.—Victoria Order of Merit.

War Department, February 5th, 1856.

The queen has been pleased, by an instrument under her royal sign manual, of which the following is a copy, to institute and create a new naval and military decoration, to be styled and designated "The Victoria Cross," and to make the rules and regulations therein set forth under which the said decoration shall be conferred:—

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come greeting;

Whereas we, taking into our royal consideration that there exists no means of adequately rewarding the individual gallant services either of officers of the lower grades in our naval and military service, or of warrant and petty officers, seamen and marines, in our navy, and non-commissioned officers and soldiers in our army; and whereas the third-class of our most honourable Order of the Bath is limited, except in very rare cases, to the higher ranks of both services, and the granting of medals, both in our navy and army, is only awarded for long service or meritorious conduct, rather than for bravery in action or distinction before an enemy, such cases alone excepted where a general medal is granted for a particular action or campaign, or a clasp added to the medal for some special engagement, in both of which cases all share equally in the boon, and those who by their valour have particularly signalised themselves remain undistinguished from their comrades; now, for the purpose of attaining an end so desirable as that of rewarding individual instances of merit and valour, we have instituted and created, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, institute and create a new naval and military decoration, which we are desirous should be highly prized and eagerly sought after by the officers and men of our naval and military services, and are graciously pleased to make, ordain, and establish the following rules and ordinances for the government of the same, which shall from henceforth be inviolably observed and kept:—

1. It is ordained that the distinction shall be styled and designated "The Victoria Cross,"

and shall consist of a Maltese cross of bronze, with our royal crest in the centre, and underneath which an esrol, bearing this inscription—"For valour."

2. It is ordained that the cross shall be suspended from the left breast by a blue ribbon for the navy, and by a red ribbon for the army.

3. It is ordained that the names of those upon whom we may be pleased to confer the decoration shall be published in the *London Gazette*, and a registry thereof kept in the office of our Secretary of State for War.

4. It is ordained that any one who, after having received the cross, shall again perform an act of bravery, which, if he had not received such cross, would have entitled him to it, such further act shall be recorded by a bar attached to the ribbon by which the cross is suspended, and for every additional act of bravery an additional bar may be added.

5. It is ordained that the cross shall only be awarded to those officers or men who have served us in the presence of the enemy, and shall have then performed some signal act of valour or devotion to their country.

6. It is ordained, with a view to place all persons on a perfectly equal footing in relation to eligibility for the decoration, that neither rank, nor long service, nor wounds, nor any other circumstance or condition whatsoever, save the merit of conspicuous bravery, shall be held to establish a sufficient claim to the honour.

7. It is ordained that the decoration may be conferred on the spot where the act to be rewarded by the grant of such decoration has been performed, under the following circumstances:—

I. When the fleet or army in which such act has been performed is under the eye and command of an admiral or general officer commanding the forces.

II. Where the naval or military force is under the eye and command of an admiral or commodore commanding a squadron or detached naval force, or of a general commanding a corps, or division, or brigade on a distinct and detached service, when such admiral, commodore, or general officer, shall have the power of conferring the decoration on the spot, subject to confirmation by us.

8. It is ordained, where such act shall not have been performed in sight of a commanding officer as aforesaid, then the claimant for the honour shall prove the act to the satisfaction of the captain or officer commanding his ship, or to the officer commanding the regiment to which the claimant belongs, and such captain or such commanding officer shall report the same through the usual channel to the admiral

or commander commanding the force employed on the service, or to the officer commanding the forces in the field, who shall call for such description and attestation of the act as he may think requisite, and on approval shall recommend the grant of the decoration.

9. It is ordained that every person selected for the Cross, under Rule 7, shall be publicly decorated before the naval or military force or body to which he belongs, and with which the act of bravery for which he is to be rewarded shall have been performed, and his name shall be recorded in a general order, together with the cause of his especial distinction.

10. It is ordained that every person selected under Rule 8 shall receive his decoration as soon as possible, and his name shall likewise appear in a general order as above required, such general order to be issued by the naval or military commander of the forces employed on the service.

11. It is ordained that the general orders above referred to shall, from time to time, be transmitted to our Secretary of State for War, to be laid before us, and shall be by him registered.

12. It is ordained that as cases may arise not falling within the rules above specified, or in which a claim, though well founded, may not have been established on the spot, we will, on the joint submission of our Secretary of State for War and of our commander-in-chief of our army, or on that of our Lord High Admiral or lords commissioners of the Admiralty in the case of the navy, confer the decoration, but never without conclusive proof of the performance of the act of bravery for which the claim is made.

13. It is ordained that, in the event of a gallant and daring act having been performed by a squadron, ship's company, a detached body of seamen and marines, not under fifty in number, or by a brigade, regiment, troop, or company, in which the admiral, general, or other officer commanding such forces, may deem that all are equally brave and distinguished, and that no special selection can be made by them, then, in such case, the admiral, general, or other officer commanding, may direct, that for any such body of seamen or marines, or for every troop or company of soldiers, one officer shall be selected by the officers engaged for the decoration; and in like manner one petty officer or non-commissioned officer shall be selected by the petty officers and non-commissioned officers engaged; and two seamen, or private soldiers, or marines, shall be selected by the seamen, or private soldiers, or marines, engaged respectively, for the decoration; and the names of those selected shall be transmitted by the senior officer in command of the naval force, brigade, regiment, troop, or company, to

the admiral or general officer commanding, who shall in due manner confer the decoration as if the acts were done under his own eye.

14. It is ordained that every warrant officer, petty officer, seaman, or marine, or non-commissioned officer or soldier, who shall have received the cross shall, from the date of the act by which the decoration has been gained, be entitled to a special pension of £10 a year, and each additional bar conferred under Rule 4 on such warrant or petty officers, or non-commissioned officers or men, shall carry with it an additional pension of £5 per annum.

15. In order to make such additional provision as shall effectually preserve pure this most honourable distinction, it is ordained, that if any person on whom such distinction shall be conferred be convicted of treason, cowardice, felony, or of any infamous crime, or if he be accused of any such offence, and doth not after a reasonable time surrender himself to be tried for the same, his name shall forthwith be erased from the registry of individuals upon whom the said decoration shall have been conferred by an especial warrant under our royal sign manual, and the pension conferred under Rule 14 shall cease and determine from the date of such warrant. It is hereby further declared, that we, our heirs, and successors, shall be the sole judges of the circumstance demanding such expulsion; moreover, we shall at all times have power to restore such persons as may at any time have been expelled both to the enjoyment of the decoration and pension.

Given at our court at Buckingham Palace this twenty-ninth day of January, in the nineteenth year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

To our Principal Secretary of State for War.

By her majesty's command,

PANMURE.

The list of candidates for this order were made up so slowly and irregularly, that they were not complete until long after the war was over. We can only give a specimen of the mode in which at intervals the public were informed by the medium of the *Gazette* of the proceedings of the War-office in this respect:—

War-office.

The queen has been graciously pleased to signify her intention to confer the decoration of the Victoria Cross on the undermentioned officers of her majesty's army, who have been recommended to her majesty for that decoration (in accordance with the rules laid down in her majesty's warrant of the 29th of January, 1856) on account of acts of bravery performed by them before the enemy during the late

war, as recorded against their several names, viz. :—

Grenadier Guards.

Colonel the Hon. Henry Hugh Manners Percy; date of act of bravery, the 5th of November, 1854.—At a moment when the Guards were at some distance from the Sandbag Battery, at the Battle of Inkerman, Colonel Percy charged singly into the battery, followed immediately by the Guards. The embrasures of the battery, as also the parapet, were held by the Russians, who kept up a most severe fire of musketry. At the battle of Inkerman Colonel Percy found himself, with many men of various regiments who had charged too far, nearly surrounded by the Russians, and without ammunition. Colonel Percy, by his knowledge of the ground, though wounded, extricated these men, and, passing under a heavy fire from the Russians then in the Sandbag Battery, brought them safe to where ammunition was to be obtained, thereby saving some fifty men, and enabling them to renew the combat. He received the approval of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge for this action on the spot. Colonel Percy was engaged with and put *hors de combat* a Russian soldier.

7th Regiment.

Lieutenant William Hope; date of act of bravery, the 18th of June, 1855.—After the troops had retreated on the morning of the 18th of June, 1855, Lieutenant William Hope being informed by the late Sergeant-major William Bacon, who was himself wounded, that Lieutenant and Adjutant Hobson was lying outside the trenches badly wounded, went out to look for him, and found him lying in the old agricultural ditch running towards the left flank of the Redan. He then returned, and got four men to bring him in. Finding, however, that Lieutenant Hobson could not be removed without a stretcher, he then ran back across the open to Egerton's Pit, where he procured one, and carried it to where Lieutenant Hobson was lying. All this was done under a very heavy fire from the Russian batteries.

Assistant-surgeon Thomas Egerton Hale, M.D.; date of act of bravery, the 8th of September, 1855.—First, for remaining with an officer who was dangerously wounded (Captain Henry Mitchell Jones, 7th regiment) in the fifth parallel, on the 8th of September, 1855, when all the men in the immediate neighbourhood retreated, excepting Lieutenant William Hope and Dr. Hale; and for endeavouring to rally the men in conjunction with Lieutenant William Hope, 7th Royal Fusiliers; secondly, for having, on the 8th of September, 1855, after the regiments had retired into the trenches, cleared the most advanced sap of the wounded, and carried into the sap, under a heavy fire, several wounded men from the open ground, being assisted by Sergeant Charles Fisher, 7th Royal Fusiliers.

Coldstream Guards.

Brevet-major John Augustus Conolly (late of the 49th regiment); date of act of bravery, the 26th of October, 1854.—In the attack by the Russians against the position held by the second division on the 26th of October, 1854, Major Conolly, then a lieutenant in the 49th regiment, while in command of a company of that regiment on outlying picket, made himself most conspicuous by the gallantry of his behaviour. He came particularly under the observation of the late Field-marshal Lord Raglan while in personal encounter with several Russians in defence of his post. He ultimately fell dangerously wounded. Lieutenant Conolly was highly praised in general orders, and promoted into the Coldstream Guards as a reward for his exemplary behaviour on this occasion.

Concerning the losses of the British army the people were much surprised when they heard the official declarations. Notwithstanding all the battles and encounters, the double slaughter at the Redan, the light cavalry sacri-

fice at Balaklava, the long and desperate defence at Inkerman, the labour and cold of the trenches, the filthy horrors of Balaklava, the famine of the camps, the abominations and neglect of the transport ships, the hurricane in November, 1854, the cholera, and the confusion and official heartlessness in the hospitals in Turkey, less than 20,000 men, according to the government reports, perished, and less than 3000 in addition were discharged from sickness and wounds, dating from the landing in the Crimea to the treaty of peace. The following was Lord Panmure's statement, made in the House of Lords on the 8th of May, 1856:—“From the 19th of September, 1854, the day on which the army was first engaged in action, to the 28th of September 1855, there were 158 officers and 1775 men killed; died of their wounds, 51 officers and 1518 men; died of cholera, 35 officers and 4244 men; died of other diseases, up to the 31st of December, 1855, 20 officers and 11,125 men; died of their wounds up to the 31st of March last, 322 men: making a total loss by death of 270 officers and 19,314 men. In the same time there were discharged from the service as incapacitated from disease and wounds, altogether 2873 men, making a total loss of 22,167 men killed, died of their wounds, and discharged, up to the 31st of March.” Of this loss Lord Panmure assured the peers that only 4000 men were killed in action or died from wounds. Of course many were put *hors de combat* in more than one action who recovered from all their wounds or fell victims to sickness, so that the names of soldiers would occur again and again, swelling the list of casualties, who, returning from the war, were still efficient in the service.

Lord Panmure's statement referred to the army, but it did not include soldiers on board ship, nor the naval brigade, nor the marines. His lordship's account does not agree with a corrected calculation from the various reports made from time to time. These bring up the computation to a figure higher by several thousands. This may be accounted for by several circumstances. His lordship's lists excluded the commissary and hospital departments, also the Army Works and Land-Transport Corps. Besides, his computations only begin with the encounter of the Bulganak, previous to which the sufferings of the soldiers in landing at Old Fort were so great, that on the short march to the bivouac of the Bulganak many men dropped out from cholera, dysentery, thirst, or weakness, who never rejoined their corps; and some of whom, it is to be feared, from the want of transport and ambulances, perished unaided where they fell. Forty thousand would be nearer the total loss than 23,000.

TABULAR STATEMENT, showing the Number KILLED, WOUNDED, and MISSING in each Regiment of the British Army from the Date of the First Landing in the Crimea till the Capture of Sebastopol, September 8th, 1855.

REGIMENTS AND DEPARTMENTS.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
Staff	9	..	..	..	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4th Dragoon Guards .....	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	3	..	..	..	..
5th Dragoon Guards .....	..	..	..	2	3	..	..	9	..	..	..	..
1st Dragoons .....	..	..	..	2	4	1	1	5	..	..	..	..
2nd Dragoons .....	..	..	..	2	4	5	..	48	..	..	..	..
4th Dragoons	2	5	3	24	2	1	..	23	..	..	..	..
6th Dragoons .....	..	..	..	2	..	3	..	10	..	..	..	..
8th Dragoons	2	3	..	25	3	2	1	14	..	..	..	..
11th Dragoons .....	..	2	..	30	3	3	..	21	..	..	..	..
13th Dragoons	3	3	1	20	..	2	..	12	..	..	..	..
17th Dragoons	3	1	..	32	5	1	2	32	..	..	..	..
3rd Battalion Grenadier Guards	5	3	1	51	15	16	1	348	..	..	..	30
1st Battalion Coldstream Guards	10	4	..	15	8	7	1	210	..	..	..	53
1st Battalion Scots Fusilier Guards	4	2	..	55	24	21	3	216	..	..	..	19
1st Battalion 1st Regiment	1	..	..	15	3	5	..	74	..	..	..	..
2nd Battalion 1st Regiment .....	..	1	..	13	7	5	1	92	..	..	..	..
3rd Regiment	1	6	..	44	13	16	3	224	..	..	..	..
4th Regiment	1	..	..	26	4	3	..	122	1	..	..	2
7th Regiment	6	7	2	78	36	34	2	429	1	2	..	18
9th Regiment	1	..	..	7	2	5	..	83	..	..	..	..
14th Regiment .....	..	..	..	10	..	2	..	46	..	..	..	..
17th Regiment	1	1	..	20	4	8	..	108	..	..	..	1
18th Regiment	1	1	..	40	11	26	..	286	..	..	..	1
19th Regiment	4	4	1	76	20	15	3	419	..	..	..	7
20th Regiment	1	2	..	24	13	17	2	171	..	..	..	29
21st Regiment	1	1	..	31	9	18	..	80	..	..	..	13
23rd Regiment	11	7	1	116	20	24	7	398	1	1	2	46
28th Regiment .....	..	1	..	20	8	3	1	48	..	..	..	3
30th Regiment	8	1	2	101	20	15	4	363	..	..	..	1
31st Regiment	2	2	..	14	1	6	1	86	..	..	..	..
33rd Regiment	5	5	..	96	23	25	2	350	1	..	..	3
34th Regiment	5	2	..	66	17	22	4	308	2	..	..	10
38th Regiment	2	4	..	22	8	12	..	212	..	..	..	5
39th Regiment	1	..	..	3	..	2	..	42	..	..	..	..
41st Regiment	8	7	..	116	16	27	4	387	..	..	..	16
42nd Regiment	1	..	..	20	2	5	1	111	..	..	..	1
44th Regiment	3	..	2	24	10	13	2	169	..	..	..	7
46th Regiment	1	1	..	9	4	5	1	100	..	..	..	12
47th Regiment .....	..	4	..	49	13	6	1	246	..	..	..	..
48th Regiment .....	..	..	..	6	2	5	..	54	..	..	..	1
49th Regiment	4	5	1	44	12	20	3	259	..	1	..	1
50th Regiment	2	3	..	36	4	3	1	79	2	..	..	11
55th Regiment	5	1	..	68	20	23	1	366	..	..	..	9
56th Regiment .....	..	..	..	3	1	1	..	3	..	..	..	..
57th Regiment	5	10	1	45	11	21	1	224	..	2	..	3
62nd Regiment	6	3	1	24	7	4	..	117	1	1	..	11
63rd Regiment	4	..	..	17	10	9	2	111	..	..	..	..
68th Regiment	5	..	..	23	4	4	2	114	..	4	..	39
72nd Regiment .....	..	..	..	6	2	1	..	47	..	..	..	..
77th Regiment	5	7	1	61	8	18	1	242	..	1	..	11
79th Regiment	1	..	..	8	2	7	..	52	..	..	..	..
88th Regiment	6	7	..	62	18	27	2	332	..	..	..	21
89th Regiment .....	..	..	..	2	..	4	..	77	1	..	..	..
90th Regiment	4	1	..	14	17	15	..	246	..	4	..	33
93rd Regiment	1	..	..	16	1	4	1	106	1	..	..	..
95th Regiment	7	7	..	69	20	21	1	271	..	..	..	3
97th Regiment	6	2	2	43	11	16	..	220	..	4	..	36
1st Battalion Rifle Brigade	2	6	1	52	6	7	1	214	..	3	..	10
2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade	5	9	..	81	15	22	7	462	..	..	..	..
Royal Artillery	12	10	..	94	26	22	..	428	..	..	..	..
Engineers	12	1	..	29	16	8	..	70	1	..	..	..
Land-Transport Corps .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
Ambulance Corps .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
Total	195	153	20	2104	577	645	71	10084	13	23	2	466

No return of casualties published after the battle of the Alma till the 13th of October. The casualties in the Fleet, Naval Brigade, and Royal Marines not ascertained.

Military authorities estimate that an army of 50,000 men requires 16,000 draught horses and baggage mules, with 9000 commissariat mules for its due service—that is, half as many horses as men.

Loss of English Horses in Six Months during the Winter 1854-55.

	Strength.	Died by Sickness.
Heavy Cavalry	1055	493
Light Cavalry	1161	439
Artillery	2832	1190
Total	5048	2122

The following, as to tents and huts, will account for much of the sickness:—

The Total Number of Tents issued to the Army up to March, 1855.

Hospital Marquees	194
Officers' Marquees	223
Circular Tents	10,736

The scale on which the circular tents were issued was,—
To officers, one tent for each.
To infantry regiments, one tent for fifteen men, four tents extra for Guards.
To cavalry regiments, one tent to twelve men, four tents extra for Guards.

Two thousand four hundred large wooden huts were sent from England during the winter, but as it required 300 men to carry up to the front from Balaklava a single hut, they did not afford the relief intended.

According to the English war minister, the loss of Russia was half a million of soldiers! which he accounted for by the sickness, accidents, and fatigues attendant upon their forced marches over such vast and inhospitable regions as they had to traverse. The most reliable French opinions reduce the Russian loss to nearly half the amount at which the English minister set it, but there was a disposition in France after the war to exaggerate the English losses, and make those of France and Russia appear less than they really were. The expense of the war to England was computed by the chancellor of the exchequer to be forty-four millions to the 14th of February, 1856; but when the cost of the troops for several months in the Crimea, and of the fleet which, under Lord Lyons, had to watch the efforts which Russia made to violate the treaty, are taken into account, millions more must be added. If to this expenditure the additional costs of pensions and rewards were put, the whole would probably exceed sixty millions sterling.

The disposition in France to underrate the part taken by England in the war (a disposition which found many supporters at home) received a check when the transport returns were made public. The French army for the Baltic, in 1854, was carried in English ships of war. The British conveyed nearly 200,000

French and Sardinian soldiers to the Euxine, and conveyed a total of 210,000 troops—French, English, Turks, and Sardinians—from one part of the Euxine to another. A total of nearly 60,000 horses—military, artillery, and transport, belonging to all the allies—were transported by English ships, and about 350,000 tons of military stores. Without the transport power of England, France would have done little in the war; her means were utterly inadequate to conduct her own men or stores from one place to another in the various enterprises which the war comprised. As a lieutenant-general in the Turkish service remarked to the author, “The will and the wealth of England beat Russia in this war.”

The following is a correct list of the sailing-vessels and steamers employed in the transport service. This list will give the reader some notion of the vast demand upon English resources for this purpose.

SAILING VESSELS.

Alipore.	Canterbury.
Earl of Shaftesbury.	Argo.
Edendale.	Alps.
John Masterman.	Arabia.
Joseph Shepherd.	Jason.
Lady Valiant.	Burmah.
Magnet.	Chanticleer.
Mary Ann.	Sutlej.
Mary Louisa.	Ivanhoe.
Moravshire.	William Jackson.
Sibella.	Deva.
St. Hilda.	Estcourt.
St. Vincent.	Belguavia.
Caduceus.	Chilton.
Pride of the Ocean.	Eden.
Edmondsbury.	Hertfordshire.
Dunbar.	Edwin Fox.
Bombay.	Columbia.
Gomezia.	Nimrod.
Eveline.	True Briton.
Sultana.	Eliza.
London.	Lord Dalhousie.
Northfleet.	Coldstream.
Lady McNaughten.	Minden.
Crest of the Wave.	Robert Small.
Wideawake.	Hugonnet.
Lancashire Witch.	Calphurnia.
Kent.	Prince Alfred.
Calliope.	Bucephalus.
Echunga.	Poictiers.
Medora.	Rockliff.
Mary Ann.	Gottenberg.
Blundell.	Edward.
Shooting Star.	Dunapore.
Star of the South.	Riverdale.
Timandra.	Killingworth.
Paramatta.	Cressus (burnt).
Gertrude.	Baltic.
War Cloud.	Victory.
Lady Russell.	Mariner.
Pedestrian.	Ormelie.
Negotiator.	Great Tasmania.
Monarchy.	Saldanha.
Onward.	Windsor.
Chalmers.	Velox.
Coronella.	Caroline.
Holyrood.	Arthur Gordon.
Orient.	

STEAMERS.

Alma.	Europa.
City of Carlisle.	Indemittalia.

Hope.
 Tonning.
 City of Lon. Ion.
 Emperor.
 Sovereign.
 Albatross.
 Magdalena.
 Victoria.
 Melbourne.
 Emeu.
 Golden Fleecce.
 Sydney.
 Sir George Pollock.
 Harbinger.
 Hydaspes.
 Balbec.
 Thames.
 Trent.
 Arabia.
 Jura.
 Baccante.
 Mercia.
 Ripon.
 Jackall.
 Kangaroo.
 Borussin.
 Alice Jackson.
 Hesper.
 Hamburg.
 Iron Age.
 Colombo.
 Europa.
 Lindsay.
 Alice Lambton.
 Andes.
 Cambria.
 Tyne-mouth.
 Cormorant.
 Empress Eugenie.
 Royal Adelaide.
 Mercatore.
 Simla.
 Australian.
 Ephemas.
 Nubia.
 Faith.
 Lion.
 Robert Lowe.
 Queen of the South.
 Ottawa.
 Cleopatra.
 Adelaide.
 Brandon.
 Charity.
 Manilla.
 Esk.
 Clyde.
 Sydney Hall.
 Indiana.
 Metropolitan.
 William Hutt.
 Imperatriz.
 Cumberland.
 Sir J. Easthope.
 Firefly.
 Norman.
 Hetton.
 Cosmopolitan.
 Oscar.

John Bowes.
 Bahiana.
 Black Prince.
 East Anglian.
 Alster.
 Royal Victoria.
 Lady Eglington.
 Union.
 Foyle.
 Prompt.
 Marley Hill.
 Kangaroo.
 Eagle.
 Peninsula.
 Black Boy.
 Whitley Park.
 Cochrane.
 Canadian.
 Amity.
 Imperador.
 Durham.
 Retriever.
 Rajah.
 Chester.
 Gibraltar.
 Telegraph.
 New Pelton.
 Ætna.
 Great Britain.
 Imperial.
 Snowdon.
 Severn.
 Calcutta.
 Black Sea.
 Indian.
 Volunteer.
 Edina.
 Akbar.
 City of Aberdeen.
 William Beckett.
 William Aldham.
 Hansa.
 Germania.
 Progress.
 Zebra.
 Saxon.
 Candia.
 Resolute.
 Assistance.
 Orinoco.
 Samuel Laing.
 Imperatrice.
 Dodo.
 Oneida.
 Hollander.
 Armenian.
 Medway.
 Rob Roy.
 Glaucus.
 Cape of Good Hope.
 Countess of Durham.
 Earl of Durham.
 Jupiter.
 Pioneer.
 Sarah Sands.
 Isabella Napier.
 Excelsior.
 Prince of Wales.
 Jarrow.

THE BLACK SEA FRENCH FLEET.*

Ships.	Guns.	Horse-power.
La Friedland	120	—
Le Vidney	120	—
La Ville de Paris	120	—
Le Henri IV.	100	—
Le Bayard	90	—
Le Charlemagne	90	450
Le Jena	90	—
Le Jupiter	90	—
Le Marengo	80	—
Le Gomer	16	450
Le Mogadore	8	650
Le Descurtes	20	540
Le Vauban	20	540
Le Cacique	14	450
Le Magellan	14	450
Le Saue	14	450
Le Caton	4	260
Le Prométhée	4	200
Le Salamandre	2	120
Le Sérieuse	30	—
Le Mercure	20	—
L'Olivier	20	—
Le Beaumanoir	20	—
Le Cerf	10	—
Le Heron	2	200
Le Mouette	2	200
Total	1120	4960

THE BALTIC FRENCH SQUADRON OF 1854 †

Ships.	Guns.	Horse-power.
Le Tage	100	—
L'Austerlitz	100	500
L'Hercules	100	—
Le Jemappes	100	—
Le Breslau	93	—
Le Duguesclin	90	—
L'Inflexible	90	—
Le Duperré	80	—
Le Trident	80	—
Le Sémillante	60	—
L'Andromaque	60	—
La Vengeance	60	—
La Poursuivante	50	—
La Virginie	50	—
La Zénobie	50	—
La Psyché	40	—
La Darien	14	450
Le Philéteon	10	400
Le Souffleur	6	220
Le Lucifer	6	200
L'Aigle	6	200
Le Milan	4	200
Le Daim	3	220
Total	1250	2290

THE RUSSIAN FLEET AT SEBASTOPOL.‡

SHIPS OF THE LINE.			
	Guns.		Guns.
Twelve Apostles	120	Selaphoel	84
Paris	120	Three Hierarchies	84
Three Saints	120	Tre Sviatitale	84
Grand-duke Constantine	120	Varna	84
Vladimir	120	Gabriel	84
Sviatoslaw	84	Empress Maria	84
Rotislav	84	Tschesme	80

Added to the foregoing 238 transports were 140 vessels employed in the commissariat department for the conveyance of provisions, stores, &c.

The following naval statistics will interest our readers, and being made up at a late date, will correct any previous errors on the subject:—

* At first under the command of Vice-admiral Hamelin, afterwards under Admiral Bruat.

† This squadron was commanded by Vice-admiral Parseval Deschenes; only a few vessels were sent out in 1855.

‡ These ships were either sunk or destroyed.

FRIGATES.			
Guns.		Guns.	
Cagul	80	Kavarna	60
Koulefgi	60	Medea	60
CORVETTES AND BRIGS.			
Guns.		Guns.	
Calypso	18	Theseus	20
Pylade	18	Eneas	20
Ptolemy	20		
SMALLER VESSELS.			
Vladimir.		Drolik.	
Nearch.		Ziabiaka.	
Sheilla.		Iastorga.	
Orlanda.		Smagлага.	

Also eleven transports and sixty-four gun-boats.

THE RUSSIAN BALTIC FLEET.

The entire force of the Baltic consisted of thirty ships of the line,* all sailing vessels, six sailing frigates, five sailing brigs and corvettes, and ten paddle-wheel steamers, besides the gun-boat flotilla and the miscellaneous craft—as schooners, transports, luggers, and yachts.

FLEET AT CRONSTADT.

SHIPS OF THE LINE.			
Guns.		Guns.	
Emperor Peter I.	120	Smolensko	74
St. George the Conqueror	112	Finland	74
Emgeiten	112	Katsbach	74
Krasnoi	84	Culm	74
Gumule	84	Ingermanland	74
Volga	84	Pamyat Azofou	74
Empress Alexandrina	84	Lisoi the Great	74
Warra	74	Villagash	74
Berezina	74	Watson-munya	74
Borodino	74	Fère-champenoise	74
		Michael	74
FRIGATES.			
Guns.		Guns.	
Alexander Newski	58	Amphitrite	44
Constantine	44	Castor	44
Ceserna	44		

BRIGS AND CORVETTES.			
Guns.		Guns.	
Paris	20	Prince of Warsaw	20
Phibotes	20		
PADDLE-WHEEL STEAMERS.			
Guns.	Horse power.	Guns.	Horse power.
Kimschaka	16 . . . 510	Bogatir	6 . . . 100
Gussaschi	6 . . . 300	Diana	6 . . . 200
Rurie	6 . . . 300	Heracles	6 . . . 200
Chirdee	6 . . . 300		

FLEET AT HELSINGFORS.

SHIPS OF THE LINE.			
Guns.		Guns.	
Russia	120	Brienne	74
Pultowa	84	Assis	74
Prosehar	84	Ezekiel	74
Vladimir	84	Andrew	74

FRIGATE.	Guns.
Cesarrowitch	44

BRIGS AND CORVETTES.			
Guns.		Guns.	
Ajax	20	Palinurus	20

PADDLE-WHEEL STEAMERS.			
Guns.	Horse power.	Guns.	Horse power.
Olaf	16 . . . 450	Gremiaschi	6 . . . 400
Smiloi	12 . . . 300		

These data, in respect to allies and enemies, were the result of careful inquiry by our home naval and military authorities, and give our readers a more adequate and complete view of the forces engaged.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

THE ARMY IN THE CRIMEA FROM THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE TO ITS RETURN HOME.

“The battles, sieges, fortunes,
That I have past.” SHAKSPEARE. *Othello*.

THE incidents in the allied armies from the proclamation of the armistice to the announcement of peace only require a brief notice. The celebration of the birth of “a child of France” excited more interest among the French than even the armistice itself, and the pompous, bombastic order of the day put forth by the chief of the French army was received with unbounded delight by those to whom it was addressed.

When the tidings arrived on the 2nd of April that peace was indeed established, spring had scattered her floral profusion around the camps, and the graves of the gallant men who had died for honour and country were covered with the bright Crimean verdure: Nature seemed to rejoice at the prospect of peace, and

to offer her own beautiful tribute to the remains of the fallen brave. The electric telegraph had scarcely conveyed the tidings that the war was over, when the guns of the allied armies thundered their salutes, and the rocks echoed the jubilee of these rude instruments of joy, so lately the implements of carnage and woe. Each of the allied armies fired a salute of 101 guns, but all was silent in the camp of the Muscovs and in the northern forts: the tidings had not yet reached those who had so much cause to rejoice in their relief from unparalleled privations and prospective defeat—perhaps entire destruction. On the same day that these joyous tidings arrived Pelissier put forth a characteristic address to his army:—

“Soldiers! the emperor lately said to your brethren, ‘You have well deserved of the

* Of the thirty ships of the line not more than twenty were said to be in a serviceable condition.

country.' You will successively hear, in your turn, the same expressions from the august lips of his majesty.

"Soldiers! by your energy, by your resolution, your heroic constancy, your indomitable courage, you have achieved, with our brave and faithful allies, the peace of the world.

"I have a right to say it, at the sight of so many fields of battle sprinkled with your blood, witnesses of your calm self-denial, and from which each time your glory rose more radiant and noble, and crowned your sublime efforts.

"You will shortly see again your country, happy at your return, happy at a glorious peace—a peace signed at the cradle of an imperial infant. Let us all be impressed with that augury; let us find in it a new sign of Divine protection, and, if necessary, an additional inducement to accomplish all our duties towards the emperor and the country.

"The Marshal Commander-in-chief,

"A. PELISSIER."

In a few days after, having waited in the vain expectation that the English general would put forth an order of the day, congratulating his army, the Sardinian commander addressed his troops:—

"Soldiers! the peace signed at Paris on the 30th of March last puts an end to the hopes each of us entertained for the glory of our arms. This feeling is more keenly felt by those who know the important task which was reserved to us had hostilities continued. But the object for which the sword was drawn having been attained, we ought not to desire the prolongation of the calamities which are inseparable from war. Let us console ourselves with the thought that what we have done, and what we were ready to do, is appreciated by our generous allies, and will not be lost for the future of our country.

"I owe you praises and thanks for your constant self-denial, for your exemplary discipline, for your ingenious activity, and for your bravery; but you will hear them with greater pleasure from the mouth of our beloved monarch, whom we hope shortly to behold again.

"Whatever may be the post in which the sovereign will may place me, I shall never forget how, on the 16th of August, after having contributed in driving back the formidable attacks of the enemy, you all eagerly desired to follow the flag which crossed the Tchernaya. I shall always remember with what ardour, on the 8th of September, each of you was desirous of taking part in the assault, one of the most murderous recorded in history.

"And should fate hereafter lead us to other

battle-fields, I shall esteem myself happy to be with you, my present comrades in this memorable war of the Crimea.

"The Commander-in-chief,

"DELLA MARMORA."

The English became rather curious to hear and see what their commander would say to them, but Sir William, whose pen was generally rather incautiously used, and loosely held, remained silent.

During the month of April the visits of the Russians to their late enemies were constant, and a large number of the common soldiers returned drunk to their own side of the Tchernaya. The officers also drank hard, but, like men used to it, they avoided becoming absolutely drunk.

Sebastopol afforded some striking scenes when the Russians, and especially certain Greek volunteers, returned to seek their former dwellings. Their amazement and grief were generally strongly expressed, as they sought amidst the scattered rubbish for the spots on which their demolished homes once stood.

Mr. Russell describes the army as "having a fine appetite, consuming daily 250,000 lbs. of barley, 250,000 lbs. of hay, and 90,000 lbs. of bread, and monthly devouring 3000 bullocks and 15,000 or 18,000 sheep, besides little pickings of potted meats, preserved vegetables, private stores, poultry, geese, turkeys, and game, washed down with floods of wine and spirits, and oceans of rum." He represented the men as "looking fat and hearty, and full of fight, upon the diet."

On the 9th of April a general order was published to the English troops:—

"The army is no longer restrained from passing the Tchernaya. All officers are to be present in camp at night; and all non-commissioned officers and men to be present at the usual roll-calls, unless in possession of written passes from their own commanding officers."

After this the British officers visited Bagtché Serai and Simpheropol, and other portions of the interior, although typhus fever raged in those places, of which they were warned by the Russians. Few received any injury from their rash enterprises. There were also pleasant expeditions along the southern shores of the Crimea, in which the mansions of the empress-dowager, of Prince Woronzoff, and others of the nobility (described in an earlier chapter), were visited. These noble abodes, with their beautiful parks and pastures, remained uninjured. But, alas! it was different with the poor Tartars of the interior; their dwellings were levelled with the dust, their fields trodden down, and they were wanderers and beggars on their own land. The conduct of

the Russian authorities to those hapless people was in the excess of brutality. The visitors found that Simpheropol and Bagtché Serai had no defences; the houses were all hospitals, for disease revelled there; and the troops were huddled in the neighbourhood, if the excavations in which they burrowed could be called huts. Our officers heard with some surprise that if, after the battle of the Alma, the allies had marched upon Simpheropol, they could have taken it without difficulty, and have effectually cut off all supplies from Sebastopol, which of course must have fallen without a struggle.

Through the month of April the generals of the allies and their late enemies exchanged hospitalities, and *réunions* were given in honour of one another. However the Russians may have been excelled by their foes in the field, they were not surpassed by their new friends in the courtesies and hospitalities of the camp. The receptions given to the allied officers by those of the czar were sumptuous; their bearing also was cordial, but more so to the French than to the English, notwithstanding the old hostility to the former, and the national good-will which so extensively prevailed towards the latter.

On all occasions of public assemblage Sir William Codrington and the English were characterised by the absence of display and the possession of gentlemanly dignity in appearance and manners. The Russians also avoided display, unless where it could be made with substantial and distinguished advantage, then they were proud of it. While Marshal Pelissier and his officers neglected no opportunity to exhibit their rank and honours, and show off their finest uniforms. The Sardinians were modest and retiring in their deportment, as unassuming in friendly intercourse as they had been unconquerable in combat.

Although the Russian officers were so polite and hospitable when acting from their own impulses, they were sometimes placed in very unpleasant relations to their new friends when policy prevailed over personal feeling. There was one very peculiar exemplification of this. Prince Gagarin, who was especially civil to the English officers with whom he came in contact, invited them to visit him at Kafka when occasion would allow. General Windham, hearing of this on his way from Kertch, put into Kafka. He was astonished to find the harbour crowded with merchant vessels, and, on inquiry, heard that many of them had been sent back from Taganrog because they had not performed quarantine, which had been ordered at Kafka. General Windham saw that the object was to render the evacuation of the Crimea personally uncomfortable to the British officers. The general was placed in a quarantine prison of

the regular Russian type, and had to send a note to the prince through the bars which ribbed the apertures. The prince hastened to express his regret that his orders were too strict to allow of his receiving the general, but if he would do him the honour to come round by land, he would be only too happy to receive him. He begged permission, however, to detain the general while he sent for authority from his superior to receive him. The answer was that the orders of the superior officer were too strict to allow of such a favour. General Windham departed as he had come, but informed the prince that he saw through the design of the whole proceeding, and would recommend his superiors to hold Kertch until every atom of material was removed from it, notwithstanding the request which the Russian government had made, that, in the interests of commerce, the restitution of Kertch should immediately take place. The opportunity was consequently lost to the Russian government of embarrassing the removal of stores from Kertch, and putting the English government to increased trouble and expense, and individuals connected with the army and navy to discomfort and loss. The Muscovites began already to show the spirit of bad faith in which they afterwards endeavoured to elude the fulfilment of the treaty.

The officers of the allied armies, especially the English, took much interest in revisiting the battle-field of the Alma, which retained traces of battle more marked than those found at Inkerman, Balaklava, or the Tchernaya.

About the middle of May the British army was actively withdrawing from the Crimea. The third division was the first to move, and all its regiments were speedily embarked.

The departure of General della Marmora and his staff was the signal for a general manifestation of respect on the part of the British, between whom and the Sardinians the warmest cordiality existed throughout the occupation. The British commander-in-chief issued a "general after-order," dated Sebastopol, May 17th, and signed by General Windham, as chief of the staff:—

"The greater part of the Sardinian army has quitted the Crimea, and General della Marmora himself will soon embark.

"A guard of honour, with artillery, will be held in readiness for the departure of the Sardinian commander-in-chief.

"The commander of the forces trusts that General della Marmora will himself receive, and convey to those whom he has commanded in the Crimea, the good wishes of the English army for their future prosperity.

"With steadiness, with discipline, with resource, the Sardinian army has long main-

tained and efficiently guarded the advanced position entrusted to it; and it bore its honourable share, with the troops of France, in the battle of the Tchernaya.

"In our intercourse there has been neither difficulty nor difference, and this good feeling between all the armies of the alliance has had a very important influence in determining the peace of Europe."

The efforts and losses of the Sardinian army were, perhaps, most correctly stated by the author of *The Camp and the Cutter* (Mr. Edwin Galt):—"The Piedmontese army of the East attained a maximum of 17,584 men. Up to October 31, 1855, it lost 1632 men, of whom 1211 died of cholera, 170 of typhus fever, and 251 from wounds and other causes. In this number there were 56 officers, 1563 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and 13 belonging to the commissariat. From October 31 to the evacuation, though the official returns are not complete, the losses of the Sardinian army may be estimated at 900, making a total of 2532. The Piedmontese government also sent to the East 3659 horses and mules, 48 pieces of cannon, 52 carriages for fieldpieces, 310 caissons, 1190 chests of arms and tools, 200 tents, bought at Marseilles, and 200 cast-iron stoves."

The Sardinian army was gradually and safely removed by the extensive transport power of the English. The work of removing our own troops was no light one, any more than their conveyance to the theatre of war.

The general impression is, that while the French sent an overwhelming force to the Crimea, the English sent comparatively few men; this is an error; the proportions were as follow:—

French	170,000
British	105,000
Turks	49,000
Sardinians	18,000

The forces of the Turkish contingent augmented the number of the British troops sent to the Crimea to the considerable figure above-written. The labour of removing the British forces may be conjectured by a statement of the various corps which then occupied the Crimea and Turkey. It will also interest the reader to peruse the divisional list at the period when the final armistice was concluded:—

CAVALRY.

1st Dragoon Guards.	6th Dragoons.
4th Dragoon Guards.	8th Hussars.
5th Dragoon Guards.	10th Hussars.
6th Dragoon Guards.	11th Hussars.
1st Dragoons.	12th Lancers.
2nd Dragoons—Scots Greys.	13th Light Dragoons.
4th Light Dragoons.	17th Lancers.

ROYAL ARTILLERY.

Royal Horse Artillery, A.C.I., and Batteries A, B, E, F, G, H, W, I, V, T, Q, Y, Z.

SAPPERS AND MINERS.

Companies 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

INFANTRY.

Third battalion Grenadier Guards, 1st battalion Coldstream Guards, 1st battalion Scots Fusileer Guards, 1st battalion 1st foot, 2nd battalion 1st foot, 3rd foot, 4th, 7th, 9th, 13th, 14th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 23rd, 28th, 30th, 31st, 33rd, 34th, 38th, 39th, 41st, 42nd, 44th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 62nd, 63rd, 68th, 71st, 72nd, 77th, 79th, 82nd, 88th, 89th, 90th, 92nd, 93rd, 95th, and 97th foot, and 1st and 2nd battalion Rifle Brigade.

HEAD-QUARTER STAFF, ETC.

Commander-in-chief—Gen. Sir W. J. Codrington, K.C.B.
Chief of the Staff—Major-general Charles Ash Windham, C.B., unattached.
Adj.-gen.—Col. Hon. W. L. Pakenham, C.B., unattached.
Quartermr.-gen.—Col. Hon. Percy Herbert, C.B., unatt.
Inspector-general of Hospitals—John Hall, M.D.
Deputy Judge-advocate—William Govett Romaine, Esq.
Principal Chaplain—Rev. H. P. Wright.

Staff at Balaklava.

Commandant—Brevet Lt.-col. F. P. Hardinge, 22nd foot.

Sebastopol.

In charge of Karabelnaia.—Lieut.-col. N. Turner, unatt.

Ordnance Department.

Commanding Royal Artillery—Lieutenant-general Sir Richard J. Daeres, K.C.B.
Commanding Royal Horse Artillery—Col. D. Wood, C.B.
Troops—Royal Horse Artillery, A.C.I. Batteries—A, B, E, F, G, H, W, P, I, V, Q, Y, Z.
Commanding Royal Engineers—Lieutenant-col. Lloyd.
Companies—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.
The Queen's Commissioner at the Head-quarters of the French Army—Major-general H. H. Rose, C.B.
The Queen's Commissioner at the Head-quarters of the Sardinian Army—Colonel Hon. G. Cadogan, Gr. Gds.
Director-general of Land-transport Corps—Colonel William M. S. McMurdo, unattached.
Commandant at Scutari—Major-gen. H. K. Storks, K.H.
Commandant of Artillery Department at Pera—Lieutenant-colonel Wedgwood.
Commanding Depot of Prisoners of War at Proti—Major Neville, 1st foot.
Staff Officer, Smyrna—Captain W. Burden, 9th foot.
Commandant, Abydos—Brev.-Maj. W. J. Chads, 64th foot.
Staff Officer, Renkoi—Lieutenant Bennett, 7th foot.
Director of Submarine Telegraph, Varna—Captain Older-shaw, Royal Artillery.

DIVISIONAL STAFF.

Cavalry Division.

Lieutenant-general Commanding—Lieut.-gen. Hon. Sir J. Y. Scarlett, K.C.B.
Commanding Heavy Brigade—Brigadier-general J. Lawrenson, 17th Lancers.
Troops—1st Dragoon Guards, 4th Dragoon Guards, 5th Drag. Guards, 1st Drag., 2nd Drag., 6th Drag.
Commanding Light Brigade—Brigadier-general Lord George Paget, C.B., 4th Light Dragoons.
Troops—6th Dragoon Guards, 4th Light Dragoons, 12th Lancers, 13th Light Dragoons.
Commanding Hussar Brigade—Brigadier-general F. G. Shewell, C.B., 8th Hussars.
Troops—8th Hussars, 10th Hussars, 11th Hussars, 17th Lancers.

First Division.

Lieutenant-gen. Commanding—Lieut.-gen. Lord Rokeby.
Commanding Brigade of Guards—Brigadier-general J. R. Craufurd, Grenadier Guards.
Troops—3rd battalion Grenadier Guards, 1st battalion Coldstream Guards, 1st bat. Scots Fusileer Guards.
Commanding Second Brigade—Brigadier-general C. W. Ridley, Grenadier Guards.
Troops—9th foot, 13th foot, 31st foot, 56th foot.

Highland Division.

Lieutenant-general Commanding—Major-general Duncan A. Cameron, C.B., 42nd foot.

Commanding First Brigade—Col. M. K. Atherley, 92nd foot.

Troops—42nd foot, 92nd foot, 79th foot, 95th foot.

Commanding Second Brigade—Brigadier-general F. Horn, C.B., 20th foot.

Troops—1st battalion 1st foot, 2nd battalion 1st foot, 71st foot, 90th foot, 72nd foot.

Second Division.

Lieutenant-general Commanding—Lieutenant-general H. W. Bard, C.B.

Commanding First Brigade—Brigadier-general M. Barlow, 14th foot.

Troops—3rd foot, 30th foot, 55th foot, 95th foot.

Commanding Second Brigade—Colonel W. O'G. Haly, C.B., 47th foot.

Troops—41st foot, 47th foot, 49th foot, 62nd foot, 82nd foot.

Third Division.

Lieutenant-general Commanding—Lieutenant-general Sir William Eyre, K.C.B.

Commanding First Brigade—Brigadier-general C. Warren, C.B., 55th foot.

Troops—4th foot, 14th foot, 39th foot, 50th foot, 89th foot.

Commanding Second Brigade—Brigadier-general C. Trollope, 62nd foot.

Troops—18th foot, 28th foot, 38th foot, 44th foot.

Fourth Division.

Lieutenant-general Commanding—Major-general R. Garrett, K.H., 46th foot.

Commanding First Brigade—Brigadier-general Hon. A. A. Spencer, C.B., 44th foot.

Troops—17th foot, 20th foot, 21st foot, 57th foot, 63rd foot.

Commanding Second Brigade—Brigadier-general G. Staunton, 31st foot.

Troops—46th foot, 63rd foot, 68th foot, 1st battalion Rifle Brigade.

Light Division.

Lieutenant-general Commanding—Major-general Lord William Paulet, C.B.

Commanding First Brigade—Brigadier-general C. T. Van Straubenzee, 3rd foot.

Troops—7th foot, 23rd foot, 33rd foot, 34th foot, 2nd battalion Rifle Brigade.

Commanding Second Brigade—Col. Lysons, C.B., 23rd ft.

Troops—19th foot, 77th foot, 88th foot, 97th foot.

Besides the large numbers to be removed from before Sebastopol, there were the numerous forces of the Turkish Contingent occupying Kertch and Yenikale, which had been under the command of General Vivian, but who left their command soon after the declaration of peace, and addressed his farewell to the contingent early in May. The general brought that force into fine order, although very little was expected from him, as he was not known to the public as an officer of especial merit, and it was understood that he had been appointed to the command from official favouritism at a time when able and experienced competitors for the honour, like General Mayne, were set aside. In a work published by Colonel Atwell Lake, entitled *Narrative of the Defence of Kars, Historical and Military*,* he writes of General Vivian as an able and experienced officer. There appears, however, one blot on

the general's command of the contingent—his treatment of General Beatson, an officer of whom it may be written without any disparagement to either General Vivian or General Shirley, whom he made his instrument in the ill-treatment of General Beatson, that he was as much or more entitled to public confidence than either. General Beatson organised the Bashi-bazouks after other British officers had failed. Even General Yusef, who had reduced to discipline the wild cavalry of Northern Africa, had given up, as hopeless, the task of making regular soldiers of these wilder Asiatics. General Beatson was not, however, a favourite with the officers at home, but was employed because he could do what none of the favourites had succeeded in accomplishing, or were disposed again to attempt. As soon, however, as this noble soldier had completely performed the onerous task committed to him, his command was desired for one of the government *protégés*, and every effort was made to find a pretext for accusing the general of some professional offence. Brigadier Shirley was sent to *find out by private inquiries* among the officers of the force whether General Beatson had not acted insubordinately, or spoken disloyally, as certain *private informers* in the corps had made known to General Vivian. This degrading farce was played off—General Beatson, without trial or formal impeachment, was suspended; a “man of interest” got the command; and the injured officer, who had so well served his country, in vain appealed for a fair and honourable investigation to those who ought to have protected him from the wrong, and the public from the disgrace, of such inequitable and base proceedings. Lord Panmure did grant a *quasi* inquiry, which did not extend in its range to the merits of the case, and was about as much, or nearly as much, of a *bona fide* investigation as that conducted by the Chelsea Board of general officers. The wrongs of the gallant Bashi-bazouk chief are, to the day of our writing, unredressed. The contingent was broken up at Constantinople, a part of the force joining the sultan's service. There were many able and valiant officers connected with it, and had the war continued it would have rendered effective service against the enemy.

During the period occupied by the British in the work of evacuating the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, they employed themselves in repairing the graves and tombs of their comrades, to whose remains they were about to bid farewell for ever. Never did Englishmen manifest so profound a respect for the places of the dead, as those composing the British army for the spots which contained the material relics of their fallen companions. The French, who are by national habit respectful to places of sepulture, were far behind the British in this particular in the Crimea. The English

* A later work than *Kars and our Captivity in Russia*, already quoted in this history.

army left the fields of burial in a condition highly to their honour.

There was during the events in the Crimea after the fall of Sebastopol a large force in Turkey. The following is a correct statement of the troops stationed during part of the years 1855 and 1856 in the Bosphorus command:—

The cavalry division, consisting of—

1st Dragoon Guards.
4th Dragoon Guards.
5th Dragoon Guards.
6th Dragoon Guards.
1st Royal Dragoons.
2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys).
4th Light Dragoons.
6th Dragoons.
8th Hussars.*
10th Hussars.
One squadron 11th Hussars.
12th Lancers.
13th Light Dragoons.
17th Lancers.

Two troops of Horse Artillery.

The Royal Artillery depot, with remount horses.

Three companies of Royal Engineers.

The Infantry depot at Scutari, composed of all the regiments in the army.

One brigade (four regiments) of the German Legion at Kulali, on the Bosphorus.

One brigade (three regiments) of the Swiss Legion at Smyrna.

The division of the Cossacks of the Sultan.

Poles.

Cavalry and Infantry.

Land-Transport Corps.

Osmanli Horse Artillery, twenty-four guns.

All the departments of supply.

The hospital establishments at Scutari, Renkoi, and Abydos.†

The force during the winter of all arms was about 18,500 men.

There was a very warm and friendly feeling amongst the English, French, and Sardinian troops. The British troops at Scutari and Constantinople certainly got on better with the Turks than the other allied troops.

Major-general Lake Storks was the last man who left Turkey on the withdrawal of the troops. The ratifications of the treaty were exchanged at the end of April, 1856, and the news reached Constantinople early in May. By the 31st of July the whole army, with its stores and *matériel*, had left the Crimea and the Turkish territory. General Storks himself embarked on the 13th of August. The Sardinian contingent, and the Turkish contingent from Kertch, were transported in British vessels—the former to Italy, the latter to the Bosphorus, where a large proportion of them were handed over to the service of the Porte. This arrangement did not, however, work well; most of these troops were disbanded, some re-

turning to England in a very destitute state; others remaining in Turkey, where land was assigned to them—Germans, Poles, and Hungarians, with a few Italians. The Mussulmen were either retained in the military service of Turkey or found their way to their respective homes.

The forces of the foreign legions which had to be removed from Turkey, Smyrna, Malta, &c., were very considerable, and the expense incurred by the British government in recruiting, organising, removing to their homes, or otherwise providing for them, was very great. We extract the following particulars from a return moved for by Sir de Laey Evans, which shows that during the war there were enlisted in the British service 441 German, 136 Swiss, and 160 Italian officers; 539 German, 165 Swiss, and 195 Italian non-commissioned officers; 8702 German, 2995 Swiss, and 3226 Italian rank and file. The expenses incurred were—for the German corps, £687,800; for the Swiss, £235,486; and for the Italian Legion, £195,655. Four of the German regiments (4250 strong) were sent to the seat of war; the other stations were the depots at Heligoland and Shorncliffe, Haslar, Aldershot, Colchester, Hythe, Terlingham, and Brown-down. A Swiss brigade of 2200 was sent to the seat of war. Of the Italian Legion no men were sent to the seat of war. The German, Swiss, and Italian Legions were finally disbanded in the autumn of 1856.

In the same document we find an account of the mode in which these various bodies of foreigners were disbanded and carried to their respective countries. The German Legion was retained for service at the Cape of Good Hope, where it was supposed they would prove more useful settlers than Poles, Hungarians, Swiss, or Italians. There were, however, many of the legion of Hungarian and Polish birth, and the former very willingly accepted the provision made for them as military colonists of the Cape. It will no doubt interest our foreign readers to know the particulars as to the numbers of the troops thus sent to Africa, and the provision made for them; the parliamentary data above referred to afford this information. The expense of arming and equipping this force, on proceeding to the Cape, was £18,305, and that of clothing £6375. The pay for three years will cost £81,982, and the rations for one year £21,493. The annual expense will be borne by the colonists. The numbers of each rank located at the Cape include one major-general, one brigadier-general, two lieutenant-colonels, five majors, twenty-two captains, twelve lieutenants, three paymasters, three surgeons, six sub-surgeons, two dispensers, two chaplains, forty-four cadets, eleven sergeant-majors, one bugle-major, twenty-two

* The Hussar Brigade, consisting of the 8th Hussars, the 10th Hussars, and the 17th Lancers, was stationed at Ismid, the ancient Nicomedia.

† The condition of the hospitals was perfectly equal, if not superior, to any hospitals in the world.

colour-sergeants, eighty-seven common sergeants, 111 corporals, and 2024 common or private soldiers. The German Legion at the Cape will be liable to serve as military settlers for seven years, to resist the attacks of the enemy, or to aid the civil power. They are to attend for exercise on certain days by the governor appointed (not exceeding thirty days a year), and to muster every Sunday for church parade. Their pay per diem is as follows—viz., major-general, 37*s.* 11*d.*; brigadier-general, 31*s.* 3*d.*; lieutenant-colonel, 8*s.* 6*d.*; major, 8*s.*; captain, 7*s.* 3½*d.*; second captain, 5*s.* 9½*d.*; lieutenant, 4*s.* 6*d.*; second lieutenant, 3*s.* 3*d.*; paymaster, 12*s.* 6*d.*; surgeon, 13*s.*; assistant or sub-surgeon, 7*s.* 6*d.*; dispenser, 7*s.* 6*d.*; chaplain, 5*s.* 5½*d.*; cadet, 1*s.* 2*d.*; sergeant-major, 1*s.* 6*d.*; colour-sergeant, 1*s.* 2*d.*; common sergeant, 11*d.*; corporal, 8*d.*; and privates, 6*d.*

Notwithstanding all the drawbacks upon the efficiency of our army, arising from our military system, and the consequent difficulty of providing troops in numbers equal to the authorised establishment, England had reason to be proud of her heroes who returned from the Crimea. Some of the regiments were detained in Malta and the Ionian Isles; some, after passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, were sent across the Atlantic to the West Indies, and to Canada, without having the opportunity of visiting their native shores after absence and the toils of war. Such as did arrive in the British Isles received a hearty welcome. The people of Dublin, Leeds, and Sheffield, were especially enthusiastic in their congratulations. Grand banquets were given in these places, especially in the Irish metropolis, where, at a vast expense, one of the noblest public entertainments ever given in Great Britain or Ireland, honoured the brave. In London, the public reception of the Guards was the most splendid pageant connected with the reception of the Crimean conquerors. It occurred on the 9th of July. The troops had been landed shortly before, and were marched to Aldershot from the port of debarkation. On that day they were to be publicly received by their sovereign, the *élite* of the English people, and by their companions in arms, in a grand triumphal entry. It will facilitate the task, in giving a description of the event, to present the reader with the previous order of the day, as issued by the quartermaster-general.

1. The brigade to be formed by regiments, at the Nine Elms Station of the South-Western Railway, ready to march off right in front, at 11 o'clock A.M. on the day named.

2. The column (each regiment preceded by its band) to move by "fours" along the Wandsworth Road, over Vauxhall Bridge, turn to the

right along Crescent Road, New Road, Millbank Row, Millbank Street, Abingdon Street, Old Palace Yard, Margaret Street, Parliament Street, Whitehall, through the Horse Guards, up the Mall to Buckingham Palace, where the column will turn to the left and enter the railing of the Palace at the south gate, pass out at the north gate, up Constitution Hill, and so into Hyde Park.

3. Her Majesty will see the troops pass from the balcony of the Palace.

4. The three battalions of Guards now in London, and the battalion at Windsor, will, before the arrival of the Crimean Brigade, be formed in Hyde Park, by the field officer in brigade waiting, in a line of quarter distant columns at ninety-five paces interval, right in front and facing Park Lane, with the rear of the line resting on the trees.

5. The colonels of the three regiments of Guards will be at the head of their respective regiments, and in this order the brigade will await the arrival of their comrades from the Crimea.

6. Upon the Crimean battalion successively gaining the open space after entering Hyde Park, they will be formed into quarter distant columns, and be marched direct upon points placed opposite to the intervals left in the line of columns already formed. Here they will wheel to the left, and halt till the three battalions are formed on the alignment of the 3rd battalion Grenadiers, when the Crimean brigade will be marched by Major-general Craufurd, under the orders of Major-general Lord Rokeby, to its place in the formed line of columns, and countermarch by sub-divisions round the centre.

7. The whole of the brigade of Guards will then stand in a line of quarter distance columns, right in front at twenty-five paces interval.

8. Upon the Crimean battalions commencing to march upon the intervals left for them, the regiments already formed will present arms, bands playing, &c., and when they have completed the countermarch of sub-divisions round the centre, they also will present arms by order of their respective commanding officers.

9. The line will then "shoulder," order arms, and stand at ease, by word of command from the respective colonels of regiments.

10. His Royal Highness Field-marshal Prince Albert will then proceed to meet and to conduct her majesty into the Park.

11. Major-general Lord Rokeby and Major-general Craufurd, having handed over to the colonels of the respective regiments the battalions comprising the Crimean brigade, their duties will cease, and they will be pleased to join the staff of the field-marshal commanding-in-chief.

12. The field officer in brigade waiting will

be pleased to do the same, and the troops on the ground will remain under the command of Lieutenant-general H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge.

13. The whole brigade being thus formed, her majesty will drive to the ground, and be received at Hyde Park Corner by the field-marshal commanding-in-chief and staff, and the military procession, as established for reviews by the queen's regulations, will immediately be formed to precede her.

14. On the arrival of her majesty at the saluting point, the troops will present arms, the bands playing, &c.

15. Her majesty will then proceed down the line, and return to the saluting point from the left, without passing along the rear.

16. The troops will then march past in quick time, in open column, the consolidated bands of the brigade playing "See the Conquering Hero comes."

17. After re-forming the original line of columns, the troops will advance to the "royal salute."

18. The Crimean battalions will then proceed to their barracks, and the rest of the brigade to the new quarters assigned to them.

19. The order of march to be observed at reviews performed before the sovereign, as laid down at page 250 of the *Regulations for Field Exercise*, is to be strictly adhered to.

20. With the object of not interfering with the view of those on foot, no person on horseback can be admitted within the railings of Hyde Park, except those named in the order of march, the mounted officers belonging to each battalion engaged, and the cavalry regiments employed to keep the ground. No private grooms, with the exception of those of her majesty, are to be admitted on the ground.

21. The place of entry for persons on horseback will be the bar at Hyde Park Corner—all others to be kept locked, and no one allowed through the bar without a ticket of admission from the quartermaster-general.

22. No carriages to be allowed inside the Park, except those of the Queen.

23. Previous to marching past her majesty, all mounted officers not moving with the troops, with the exception of those in immediate attendance upon the sovereign, will take post at camp colours, placed opposite the saluting point, on each side of the band, under the direction of an officer of the head-quarter staff.

24. Persons on foot only will be admitted into Hyde Park on the day of the review by her majesty—all the gates leading into Hyde Park will, therefore, be closed against the admission of carriages and persons on horseback.

25. The ground will be kept by the 2nd Life Guards, the Blues, the 3rd Light Dragoons, and the mounted police.

The arrangements of the foregoing order were carried out with scarcely any deviation. The foreign service battalions of the brigade left Aldershot early in the morning, numbering 3200 men. It was one of the "queen's days" as to weather—bright and genial as English summer day could be, and a vast concourse of persons was enabled consequently to assemble along the line of march. At 11 o'clock the roll of drum and sound of bugle announced that the brigade was on its march, as it emerged from the railway station at Nine Elms. The shout of the people, as the head of the columns approached, indicated the deepest sympathy and the most triumphant welcome. The bands played "Home, sweet home," and "Auld lang syne." The regiments marched four deep, "in heavy marching order." All were objects of interest to the people, but the veterans with the Crimean medal and many clasps on their breasts, with long beards and bronzed faces, and the gait and step of the experienced soldier, were especial objects of attention—for these were the men who had borne the brunt of battle, and had endured the terrible starvation. As they proceeded along the route specified in the quartermaster-general's order, flags floated from almost every window; women waved their kerchiefs, men their hats; the crowd cheered with such continuous shouts, that the roar of their voices ascended in waves like the voice of the far-sounding sea. The bells of the churches rang joyous peals. The windows of the houses of parliament were filled with peers, peeresses, and commons. The windows and balconies of the public buildings in Whitehall were full of spectators, and eager crowds gazed and cheered from the roofs. Competent judges of such matters alleged that the number of the multitude was greater than on the occasion of the emperor and empress of the French making their public entry. Opposite the Treasury, a squadron of the 2nd Life Guards was drawn up to honour the procession. The Horse Guards was reached at twenty minutes to twelve; here a number of general officers were assembled: in one of the windows the brave commander of these heroes at Inkerman took his place, with several ladies of the court. His royal highness bowed to many in the procession who had fought by his side at the Alma, and Inkerman. As soon as the soldiers perceived the duke, their steady gravity gave way, and they honoured him with the heartiest cheers. The bands, as they approached the Horse Guards, played "God save the Queen," "The British Grenadiers," "Here's a Health to all good Lasses," in reply to which the ladies showered bunches of laurel upon the troops. The brigade was fifteen minutes passing the Horse Guards. In Pall-Mall the fronts of the War-office and the clubs were hung with red

cloth, and many veteran officers, whose day of service was over for ever, and many ladies connected with their families, received the troops with hearty demonstrations. Passing between Marlborough House and St. James's Palace, the brigade entered St. James's Park, and marched along the Mall to Buckingham Palace. The 2nd Life Guards, who had preserved the line of march, were relieved at St. James's Palace by the Royal Horse Guards Blue, who performed this duty the rest of the route to Hyde Park Corner. Experienced observers alleged that the multitude along the Mall and around Buckingham Palace exceeded those which were assembled at the Horse Guards and in Trafalgar Square. From the spot whence the queen had taken her farewell of one of these fine battalions two years and a-half before, she was now, with triumph and joy, ready to welcome the survivors home.

Before the arrival of the columns, various notable persons rode past to Hyde Park, who attracted the attention of the crowd; among these was the Earl of Cardigan, mounted on the charger which bore him through the glorious light cavalry charge at Balaklava; he was received with loud cheers. Prince Albert, in the uniform of the Grenadier Guards (one of the regiments of which he is colonel), rode out from the palace gate to proceed to Hyde Park. His royal highness became well his brilliant uniform; the people received him without warmth, and some laughed derisively, but were instantly checked, and in some cases chastised, by the bystanders. The Duke of Cambridge rode smartly up the Mall from the Horse Guards, while the procession was on its way thence, and as he passed along, the demonstrations of enthusiastic regard were almost as great as subsequently were accorded to the gallant Guards, of whom, indeed, he was one.

Before the troops reached the palace gates, her majesty came out upon the balcony, accompanied by the royal children, her mother, her uncle the King of the Belgians, her aunt the Duchess of Cambridge, her cousins the Princess Mary of Cambridge, the Princess Charlotte of Belgium, and the Count of Flanders; also by Prince Oscar of Sweden, and other illustrious persons. Her majesty wore a white dress and blue bonnet, and occupied the centre of the royal group, with the Prince of Wales by her side. When her majesty appeared upon the balcony, the shouts of the people arose in front of the palace, and were caught up along the Mall, rolling like thunder over the park. The eyes of her majesty turned towards Marlborough Gate, and she bent gently but earnestly forward; it was a quarter past twelve; a roll of drums, followed by huzzas, announced the Grenadier Guards, and instantly the head of the column was seen wheeling into the Mall.

Waving their tattered flags, their bands filling the air with triumphant music, these veterans of her household troops arrived in presence of the queen. She waved a white handkerchief with animation, and her countenance beamed with triumph. Her brave soldiers entered the south gate of the palace, and drew up before the balcony on which her majesty stood. She again waved her handkerchief, and the soldiers responded by such a cheer as they could only surpass if, in vindication of her rights and honour, they had met her majesty's enemies. The eagerness of the multitude was so great, that the Horse Guards and police were unable to keep the line, and some confusion ensued, the formation of the Fusilier Guards having been broken. After passing before her majesty, the troops left the palace enclosure by the North Gate, and passed up Constitution Hill to Hyde Park Corner. When the last rank had passed the palace balcony, her majesty retired, but the loud and long-continued cheers of the people recalled her; her countenance indicated a pleasure that could not be concealed, as she acknowledged their loyalty with grace and dignity.

At Hyde Park, the remaining four battalions of the household brigade of infantry were drawn up in the way indicated by General Airey's order of the previous day. Prince Albert was at the head of his regiment, the Grenadier Guards; the Duke of Cambridge at the head of his, the Fusiliers; and the gallant Lord Strafford, colonel of the Coldstreams, too old to head his regiment, was in the carriage of the minister of war. A splendid assemblage of the nobility and gentry were present as spectators. The Duchess of Gloucester, her majesty's aunt, chose to witness the glory of the day from this point; here also were the cabinet ministers and the ambassadors. Count Persigny was conspicuous among these by the interest which he took in the scene.

At half-past twelve "the conquering heroes" came. When they reached the point of review, they were marched into line by Major-general Craufurd, under the orders of Major-general Lord Rokeby; the bands played, the other battalions presented arms, the people cheered, and from the windows, balconies, and house-tops in Park Lane flags were waved, and the voice of welcome came. Each of the "service battalions" was handed over to the colonel of the regiment to which they respectively belonged, and the Duke of Cambridge assumed the command of the troops on the field. Prince Albert then went to meet her majesty, and conduct her to the park. The queen, meantime, had left Buckingham Palace with her suite, in seven carriages, escorted by the Royal Horse Guards. The Duke of Wellington, her

master of the horse, rode immediately behind her carriage. On her majesty arriving at the saluting point, attended by the most brilliant and numerous military staff that ever followed her, the bands struck up the national anthem, and troops and people hailed their queen. Her majesty rode along the line, the soldiers and the populace making the park "ring again" with their acclamations. The bands of the Guards were then formed into one, and playing "See the conquering Hero comes," led the whole division past her majesty and a long line of general officers drawn up near her. The Guards, having marched past, were halted, the Duke of Cambridge at their head giving the word of command; they advanced to the flag-staff, to the royal salute. Her majesty then departed, the troops raising, as if with one voice, a loyal hurrah; this they prolonged, throwing up their bearskin caps, or waving them aloft on the points of their bayonets. They were, however, destined to pass before her majesty again, as they returned by way of the Birdcage Walk and St. James's Park to their quarters. Before they left Hyde Park, an incident occurred which showed the heartiness of the popular feeling. As soon as

her majesty left the park, the people, no longer able to bear restraint, broke with a wild cry through the cavalry who kept the line, and rushed upon the square in which the Guards were formed. The soldiers were not prepared for this, and viewed with astonishment the rush made upon them by the people. In an instant, husbands and wives, parents and sons and brothers, were clasped in one another's arms, and friends met friends with manly greeting.

There was one error only in the arrangements—no plan had been laid for the refreshment of the soldiers. After a long journey, while marching in heavy order, in a hot July sun, excited as they were by the welcome they received, and their arrival at London quarters once again, some of them complained of thirst on the line of march in the hearing of the people, many of whom made desperate efforts to provide a remedy; but the shops were shut in the line of progress, and the denseness of the multitude impeded the generous intention. Banquets and hospitalities, however, soon made up for past oversights, and the day was made throughout a season of festivity and joy.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

MODIFICATIONS OF THE TREATY OF PARIS.—DIPLOMATIC CONTESTS CONCERNING THE ISLE OF SERPENTS, THE NEW TURCO-RUSSIAN FRONTIER, AND THE UNION OF THE PRINCIPALITIES.

"Russia, in her diplomacy, is not a European but an Asiatic power. she regards no treaties except when those with whom she has contracted have power to enforce them, and then she endeavours, with consummate cunning, to evade the stipulations."—*Extract from an article by the Author in a Metropolitan Journal.*

REFERENCES have been made in the foregoing pages to the bad faith of Russia in the matter of the "Treaty of Paris:" it remains to present the terms of adjustment, as they were determined upon in one of the last general diplomatic transactions connected with the war.

After the Paris conference had terminated its sittings, and Europe had supposed that the terms of peace were definitively settled, new difficulties presented themselves. The Russians made various attempts to seize the Isle of Serpents; and, but for the vigilance of Admiral Lyons, they would have effected their purpose. The modes adopted to accomplish this object were as furtive and faithless as the object itself was fraudulent. On the ostensible ground that the Isle of Serpents belonged properly to Bessarabia, Russia at first endeavoured to vindicate her conduct in this particular. When she perceived that all Europe pronounced that ground untenable, Russia assumed that the Isle of Serpents belonged to Moldavia, and as a portion of Moldavia was to be ceded to her,

according to the treaty of Paris, she declared that the Isle of Serpents fairly belonged to the cession. Unfortunately, nothing had been said of this island in the Paris treaty. None of the plenipotentiaries for a moment supposed that any pretence on the part of Russia would be set up for claiming the island—much less that her agents and emissaries would try to seize it. The haste with which the settlement made by the Paris conference was accomplished, in order to please the French emperor, allowed of many things being omitted, or only imperfectly arranged. The omission of all mention of the Isle of Serpents was quietly connived at by the Russian plenipotentiaries, who were no doubt alive to its importance, and had already concocted the future proceedings of their government in the matter. Accordingly, when they attempted quietly to take possession, and were defeated in the attempt by Lord Lyons, the Russian ministers at the various courts assumed the tone of representatives of a confiding and ill-used government. The French emperor took no interest in this occurrence, and his

government clandestinely favoured the pretensions of the czar. No appeals on the part of England, Turkey, and Austria, to the French government had any effect, until it perceived that the three powers were resolute, and that France must be prepared to see the war renewed, under other auspices, unless she herself insisted on the faithful fulfilment of the treaty of Paris. The Russians had sought to deceive the English admiral, by falsifying a document which purported to come from the Turkish authorities, authorising Russia to take possession. Admiral Lyons and his officers saw through the trick and exposed it; England called the attention of France to the baseness and perfidy of the Russian government; but, neither in the case of the Isle of Serpents, nor of the Danubian frontier, did the treachery of the czar rouse the honour of the French government. English representations were slighted, and the most fulsome eulogies were interchanged between the two emperors, and the members of their cabinets. The first indication of the perfidiousness of the Russian *chancellerie*, and the time-serving of the French court and cabinet, arose in connection with the Isle of Serpents—another speedily followed. By an ingenious suppression of the superior local intelligence possessed by the Russian plenipotentiaries at the Paris conferences, the line of rectification for the Russian territory was so drawn as to favour the secret designs of the czar. The intention of the allies was to exclude Russia from the Danube, so that she could no longer have a pretence for controlling the freedom of its navigation. Russia determined, if possible, to retain some contiguity with that river, so as to obtain once more the control of its waters. For this purpose she tried to seize the Isle of Serpents, which would have enabled her to command the Delta almost as effectually as if she still held the Sulina mouth. So, in like manner, her plenipotentiaries allowed the Paris conference to trace the line of her Bessarabian frontier according to a French map, which they knew to be erroneous, and which, therefore, would enable the Russian government to hold an inlet from the river, by which communication with it might be maintained by gun-boats and other small craft. Had the line of the French map been adopted, Russia, in spite of the allied objects in waging the war, and of the terms of peace they had conquered, would have still been a Danubian power. A misappropriation of names, especially of one particular locality which was called by several designations, was the error of which the faithless negotiators of the czar took advantage at Paris. When the commissioners appointed to define the boundary went over the line, they perceived its impracticability, and that Russia

would, with such a boundary conceded to her, reconquer by negotiation all that she had lost by arms. Plain as the case was to every honest mind, Russia insisted upon the terms of the treaty, and her own right of interpreting them. France dishonourably backed her in these pretensions; England, Austria, and Turkey resisted, and there seemed a prospect that peace, so newly concluded, would be disturbed; but the French emperor, who had been much in retirement, and was or affected to be indifferent to what he supposed, or seemed to suppose were minor arrangements, had his attention called to the state of affairs, overruled his ministers, and reanimated the English alliance. The Russian government, finding an unexpected difficulty in the good-will of the French emperor to England, called for another conference to reconsider the treaty of the 30th of March. This was resisted by England, Austria, and Turkey, but the French, Prussian, and Sardinian governments supporting the demands of the czar, the other three powers conditionally consented. The conduct of the Prussian government throughout these proceedings was in all respects unjust to the allies; that government acted as the tool of Russia in the whole affair. The government press of Berlin justified the attempts of the czar's emissaries to seize the Isle of Serpents, and supported the Russian interpretation of the treaty of March 30th, although all Europe saw that such interpretation was dishonest. The personal behaviour of the king of Prussia throughout these transactions was as bad as the policy of his government, and the spirit of the press of Berlin.

At last, a re-assembling of the conference was resolved upon, as the least of the various evils which presented themselves to the powers in the result of these questions being kept open. Accordingly, the representatives of the governments concerned met in Paris at the beginning of the year 1857. On the 6th of January a protocol was signed for carrying out the provisions of the treaty of the 30th of March, 1856. All the ministers who attached their signatures to the protocols of March, 1856, were not present at the renewed conference. Baron Hübner on the part of Austria, Count Walewski for France, Lord Cowley for England, Count Hatzfeldt for Prussia, Baron Brunnov for Russia, the Marquis Villa-Marina for Sardinia, and Mehemed Djemil for Turkey, constituted the congress of plenipotentiaries who assembled at Paris in January, 1857.

On the 7th of January Lord Cowley communicated to the Earl of Clarendon the final adjustment of these difficulties, which was received by the English minister of Foreign Affairs on the 8th, and met with the approba-

tion of the cabinet. A telegraph announcing the approval of the English government caused much rejoicing in Paris, where the desire for peace did not correspond with the French reputation for martial spirit. The great majority of all ranks in the social scale were eager for "peace at any price." Every one had in his mouth the saying, "The glory of France has culminated at the Malakoff!" and this seemed a sufficient reason for sacrificing the substantial objects of the war to the enemy, and for sacrificing to that enemy also faithful allies and friends. Considering that the success of the Malakoff was a surprise, and that everywhere else during the final assault the French experienced ruinous defeat, the "culmination" of French glory was not so much to boast of as the exhibition of French endurance and of French valour throughout the war, and which so much influenced the great result. At all events, our neighbours, not only in Paris, but throughout France, hailed the decision of England with unbounded joy. From the emperor to the peasant there was no dissembling—the intelligence was welcomed with exuberant satisfaction. What the decision of the British government would be was well known to the emperor and his cabinet, and pretty well understood by political society in France, but there was an apprehension that the supposed warlike propensities of Lord Palmerston would at the last hour possibly prevail; and as England was the arbitress of peace and war, the decision of the English cabinet was received with one accent of joyous acclamation throughout *la belle France*.

The letter of Lord Cowley and the protocol itself were published by order of the British parliament early in 1857. The former document is full and explicit, and lays the terms of settlement fairly before the English government and nation. That there were efforts made by France, Prussia, and Sardinia, antagonistic to the other three powers, to gain as much concession as possible for Russia, were, however, clearly indicated by the letter of Lord Cowley, and drew down upon the French emperor and the Prussian king the severest denunciations of the British press and the unmeasured disapprobation of the British people. Still it was felt that but for the personal bias of the French emperor on the side of his august ally, Queen Victoria, and of her people, things would have been less satisfactory,—for it was understood that the will of the emperor, in opposition to the most earnest importunities of his ministers, and even their intrigues, cast the balance so far in favour of English policy. It was also alleged that the empress and Prince Napoleon used all their influence to defeat the machinations of Walewski and Morny, and others of the emperor's admirers who were so

solicitous to inaugurate a pro-Russian-anti-English policy.

Russia finding that the triple alliance of England, Austria, and Turkey, could not be broken, and that the French emperor was at once decided to maintain his friendship with Victoria, and be concessive to his new friend the czar, pretended to accept Komrat, on the Yalpouk, in exchange for Bolgrad, especially as England insisted sternly that both New and Old Bolgrad should belong to Moldavia. Turkey demanded, with more firmness than was expected, that in future the Delta of the Danube should not belong to her simply as a part of her Moldavian provinces, but be counted a part of Turkey proper. Austria did not support this so warmly as England, but the plenipotentiaries of all these powers persisted in the demand. The Isle of Serpents was recognised also as belonging to Turkey proper.

These arrangements filled the Russian court, cabinet, and people with chagrin and anger. The triumph of English policy and Turkish interests was signal. Austria had counted for something; she was not the mere vassal which the Czar Nicholas chose to represent her to Sir Hamilton Seymour before the war began. All the efforts in war and negotiation which Russia had put forth were foiled by England; the genius of one man, Viscount Palmerston, and the spirit of the people of the British Isles, had defeated all the force and guile for which the Muscovite had won so great a reputation.

The following is a copy of Lord Cowley's letter to Lord Clarendon, and of the protocol which it inclosed. In the papers published by parliament maps and plans are annexed, showing the outline of the boundaries; to these plans reference is made in the protocol under the indices of the letters printed in the copy here given. The plans are not of sufficient interest to copy in this volume, as all that the general reader can feel concerned to know of the boundary is upon what principle it is laid down, and whether Muscovite access to the Danube is completely excluded by it; the precise topographical limitation is of no importance, except so far as that great end is accomplished.

It may be necessary to observe, that however the omission by the plenipotentiaries at the congress of 1856 of all mention of the Isle of Serpents showed a want of vigilance and of proper distrust of Russia, yet there is this extenuation of their error, that in no previous treaty between Turkey and Russia was any mention made of that island. The conference of January, 1857, however, settled for ever all dispute concerning it, by pronouncing it an appendage of the Delta of the Danube.

Protocol, signed at Paris, the 6th of January, 1857, for carrying out the Provisions of the Treaty of the 30th of March, 1856.

LORD COWLEY TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.
(Received January 8th.)

Paris, January 7th, 1857.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to inclose herewith a certified copy of the protocol of conference, with the plans annexed thereto, signed yesterday at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, wherein are recorded the results of the discussions which have taken place on certain points connected with the execution of the treaty of the 30th of March, and by which, I trust, are definitively set at rest the differences of opinion which had arisen among the powers, parties to that treaty, respecting the right interpretation of Article XX., in consequence of its being found on actual survey that certain localities were not situated as had been supposed by the Paris Congress.

Although it is matter of regret, it is not surprising, considering the scanty information which could be obtained respecting the geographical details of the countries bordering the Lower Danube, that these errors should have occurred, or that, in endeavouring to rectify them, differences of opinion should have manifested themselves among the parties interested. But it was the duty of all, if a common centre of union was to be sought; if disagreement was not to degenerate into animosity; if the treaty of the 30th of March was not to remain a dead letter—to abate somewhat of their respective views, and to meet each other in a conciliatory spirit. The decision of the majority of the conference might, indeed, have been appealed to, but when opinions had been so strongly pronounced, it could not have been enforced without leaving a feeling of soreness to be deprecated in the minds of those whose judgment was overruled. The necessity of a compromise, if harmony was to be preserved, was felt by all, and the emperor, moved by this consideration, took upon himself to propose a settlement, which has been accepted by all parties.

The arrangement proposed by his majesty, while it maintains inviolate, by assigning both New and Old Bolgrad to Moldavia, the principle on which Article XX. was originally framed, of removing Russia from all communication with the Danube and Lower Pruth, meets the desire of the Russian government to have a capital for the Bulgarian colonies which remain to Russia, by giving her the town of Komrat, on the Yalpouk. At the same time the wish expressed by Turkey that the Delta of the Danube, of which she formerly was

mistress, should be restored to her instead of being transferred to Moldavia, is acceded to, and the Isle of Serpents is declared to be an appendage of the Delta.

Her majesty's government having met this proposal in the same conciliatory spirit in which it had been made by the French government and the other governments interested, moved by sentiments equally honourable, having notified their acquiescence in it, the task of the plenipotentiaries has been limited to recording in a collective instrument the agreement at which their governments had separately arrived.

It only remains for me to congratulate your lordship and her majesty's government on this termination of difficulties and discussions, which have not been without their gravity, and to express the hope that the agreement which has thus been attained may prove an omen of continued peace and friendship among the powers who have given this proof of goodwill and respect for each other.

I have, &c.,
COWLEY.

—
INCLOSURE.
(Translation.)

[Protocol, signed at Paris, January 6th, 1857.]

Present:—

The Plenipotentiaries of AUSTRIA,	
„	FRANCE,
„	GREAT BRITAIN,
„	PRUSSIA,
„	RUSSIA,
„	SARDINIA,
„	TURKEY.

The plenipotentiaries of the courts of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, duly authorised, having assembled in conference in order to devise the means of terminating the difficulties which the Boundary Commission, charged with the execution of Article XX. of the Treaty of Paris, has encountered in consequence of the position of places, have decided, after an examination of the reports of the Boundary Commissioners, that the said frontier shall be definitely traced, according to the Plan No. 1, initialled by the undersigned, and annexed to the present protocol; that it shall, consequently, commence from the Black Sea at a point 2936 metres to the east of Lake Bourna-Sola, marked on the said plan by the letter *b*, and following a broken line shown by the letters *c, d, e, l, k, j, i, h, m, n, o*, where it joins the Akerman Road, which it follows as far as the letter *p*; proceeding from thence to the Val de Trajan by the letters *q, r, s, t, u, v, x, y, d', e', f', g', i'*; following the Val de Trajan as far as the letter *p'*; again taking the Akerman Road as far as the ravine of Ali-Aga, which it ascends

as far as the letter *t'*; passing thence by the letters *u*, *v*, *x*, *y*; reaching from thence, in a straight line, to the Val de Trajan at the point where it is intersected by the River Karakourt coming from Koubeï, and following it as far as the River Yalpouk, the mid-channel of which it ascends to the mouth of the Kirsau, to the north of Kongas, and at the letter A; ascending this stream till the line meets the road from Komrat to Borogani, at the letter A', which road it follows as far as the letter B, and thence ascends the Lower Yalpougel as far as the letter C, and proceeds as far as the letter D, where it meets the Saratsika, which it ascends as far as the letter E; proceeding from thence towards the Pruth, by the line indicated by the letters *v''*, *x''*, *y''*, *z''*, *r''*, *a'''*, *b'''*, *c'''*, *d'''*, *e'''*, *f'''*, *g'''*, *h'''*, *i'''*, *j'''*, and *k'''*.

The plenipotentiaries having agreed that the marking out of the boundary, and the delivery of the territory to Moldavia, shall be completed by the 30th of March next, at the latest, it is understood that the Austrian troops shall have evacuated the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and that the British squadron shall have quitted the Black Sea and the Bosphorus, at latest, at the same date.

The Convention of the Straits will, from that time, come into force.

The plenipotentiaries agree that the islands included between the different branches of the Danube at its mouth, and forming the Delta of that river, as shown by the Plan No. 2 hereto annexed, and initialled, shall, instead of being annexed to the principality of Moldavia, as stipulated by Article XXI. of the Treaty of Paris, be replaced under the immediate sovereignty of the Sublime Porte, of which they formerly held.

The plenipotentiaries agree, moreover, that the Treaty of Paris having, like the treaties previously concluded between Russia and Turkey, been silent with regard to the Isle of Serpents, that island is to be considered as an appendage to the Delta of the Danube, and must, in consequence, follow its destination.

In the general interest of maritime commerce, the Ottoman government engages to maintain on that island a lighthouse destined to render secure the navigation of vessels proceeding to the Danube and to the port of Odessa; the River Commission, established by Article XVII. of the Treaty of Paris for the purpose of maintaining the mouths of that river, and the neighbouring parts of the sea, in a navigable state, will see to the regular performance of the service of such lighthouse.

The present protocol shall have the same force and validity as if it had assumed the form of a convention; but it is understood that, when the Boundary Commission shall have concluded its labours, a convention shall

be signed by the high contracting powers, recording the frontier such as it shall have been established by the commissioners, and the resolutions taken on the subject of the Isle of Serpents and the Delta of the Danube.

(Signed)

HÜENER.

WALEWSKI.

COWLEY.

HATZFELDT.

BRUNNOW.

VILLA-MARINA.

MEHEMME DJEMIL.

It will be seen that when this protocol was signed the Boundary Commission had not concluded its labours. Ultimately these were brought to a successful termination, Russia no longer offering any impediment. She saw at last that the course of obstruction previously pursued could render no service to her interests, and might still further expose her to humiliation.

Still there were discussions of a painful and protracted nature connected with Wallachia and Moldavia, in which Russia was the agent of mischief, and Turkey exposed to apprehensions concerning the nature of the future relations of her trans-Danubian provinces.

The government of those territories, it was hoped, placed for ever beyond Russian control, or even a pretext for Russian interference, had to be fixed in accordance with the treaty of Paris, and the czar here found another opportunity for meddling mischievously with Turkish interests, and for intriguing against Turkish influence and authority, and even the future integrity of the sultan's empire. It will be recollected that the religion of the Rouman race is according to the Greek rite, and that this circumstance gives to the czar an influence in those provinces. The Greek priests of Russia have necessarily much intercourse with their brethren of the borders. A sympathy, natural and even proper, would be supposed *à priori* to exist between the Russian and Rouman peoples, but more especially their clergy. When the czar installed himself, under pretence of this sympathy, the *quasi*-protector of the whole territory from Podolia to the Danube, from the Pruth to the Austrian frontier,—having previously conquered Bessarabia, another province inhabited by the Roumans,—he was regarded in Europe generally as virtually master of all that fertile realm. So oppressive were his exactions, so haughty his military officers, so dishonest his civil officials, so coarse and brutal his soldiery, so jealous was he of the legitimate influence of the patriarch of Constantinople, and so hotly eager for the recognition of his own official religious supremacy, without waiting for time, and the intrigues of his clerical and

official agents, to draw the people quietly beneath his ecclesiastical yoke—that the Roumans became hostile to him, and preferred their allegiance to Turkey under the existing guarantees of religious liberty, or, more properly, their religious ascendancy, in the provinces. There has always been a large party, even in Bessarabia and Podolia, who regarded the Greek patriarch as the centre of Greek unity, and the czar as an ecclesiastical usurper. This feeling was still stronger in Wallachia and Moldavia, although Turkey took no pains to cultivate it; while within the Austrian borders, the Roumans were encouraged to look to Constantinople rather than St. Petersburg for the head of their rite, while of course Austria “left no stone unturned” to loosen the connection with both capitals, and insidiously to disseminate the religious influence which has its spring and centre at Rome. Under these circumstances the only hope, after the treaty of Paris, especially as interpreted and defined by the protocol of January, 1857, which Russia could entertain of infringing upon the authority of the Porte in Danubian Turkey must be found in the exercise, if possible, of a powerful fanatical religious influence in the Moldo-Wallachian territory. The new boundary in Bessarabia left it impossible for Moscow to come politically to the Danube, except through the influence of the Greek priesthood in the two provinces. The czar, therefore, by his agents, embarrassed in every possible way the settlement of the treaty of Paris in reference to those provinces. A large party in those countries was desirous for their political union. This desire sprang from patriotic motives in the main. It was thought that the Rouman race united would wield a power which surrounding governments would be compelled to respect. This party demanded that, in any settlement of the future government of Wallachia and Moldavia, the union of the two provinces, politically, religiously, judicially, and commercially, should be a *sine quâ non*. Russia at once laid hold of this patriotic feeling for her own purposes: for seeing that it would be easier for her to move by her intrigues one government than two governments, she favoured the union. Besides, the more compact and strong a Greek province (Greek in religion, although not in race) on the Turkish frontier, the more formidable in any outburst of religious fanaticism or secular differences that province would be. The more easy also would it be to incorporate the whole of Wallachia and Moldavia with Bessarabia and Podolia, in case any convulsion gave Russia an opportunity of so doing, when “the sick man” might be ailing more than heretofore, and the Western governments, at war with one another, or so occupied with adverse powers or their

own internal affairs as to prevent their interposition. Besides, a strong province, with a single government (that government possessing an independence unknown to a provincial constitution in any other empire) professing the same religion—the religion of Russia, the people, by race and religion, allied to those inhabiting the contiguous provinces of Austria, would be a standing menace to that power as well as Turkey. Russia in fact felt that Moldavia and Wallachia united, their government substantially independent of the Porte, connected with Russia by religious sympathy at least, perhaps in a little time by ecclesiastical official relations also, she could use that province as a fulcrum for the lever of her power, to upheave and break, not only the empire of the sultan, but also that of the kaiser.

Russia had not abandoned her designs against Turkey—she had only deferred them. The snake was scotched, but that was all. The czar still believed in Peter the Great, both as a statesman and a prophet, and the policy shadowed forth by Menschikoff at Constantinople, in 1853, was furtively cherished at St. Petersburg in 1857. The tide of Russian glory had been rolled back, but as where the waters of the sea have ebbed, a spring tide may roll them higher than before; so Russian statesmen hoped for Russian power, and especially for the flow of that power on towards the great capital of Eastern Europe, even yet. The Porte perceived this covert ambition, and resisted the union of the provinces. Not only so; but the ministers of the sultan pressed their views unfairly and impolitically upon the provinces, by practical measures inconsistent with the existing constitutions there, and the basis of future government laid down by the Paris conference. The agents of the vizier inflamed the evils; it was the interest of his government to soothe and heal. Constantinople, Bucharest, and Jassy, became so many new *foci* of political *finesse* connected with this subject. The interest of the Porte lay in the absence of all trick, and a close clinging to England, her counsels, her policy, and her protection. “The *divans ad hoc*” were convoked and revoked, and were the subjects of ceaseless intrigue, diplomatic clamour, and misunderstanding.

Austria took a firm footing at last amidst this hubbub. She feared for the safety of her Dacian provinces, where the people were loyal: she dreaded Russian ambition and Russian revenge. It had not been her desire to see Turkey strong on her frontier, but her eyes were at last opened to the truth that alliance with Turkey and England is the true policy of Austria. She should make it as much the interest of the Western governments to preserve the integrity of the Austrian empire, as it regards Russia, as they find it to be their interest to preserve

the integrity of the dominions of the sultan, so far as the encroachment of any great European power is concerned. Under these circumstances Austria sided with Turkey, and declared boldly that, until there was some sufficient guarantee that the power of the Porte should not be undermined in the provinces, Austrian troops would hold them for the sultan. This language was adopted at the instigation of the Porte itself, and with the sanction of England, who saw the danger, and resolved, with the characteristic firmness of her premier and of her foreign minister, to meet it with adequate resolution.

The menace of an English fleet in the Bosphorus, and an Austrian army in the principalities, were not unnecessary to meet the new intrigues of Russia. This was especially the case, as France once more played false to England, and coquetted with her recent enemy. As the elder Napoleon with the elder Alexander, so the younger Napoleon with the younger Alexander. The upstart emperor, in either case, instead of relying upon his own genius and the suffrage of France, sought to conciliate legitimacy, and ally a despotism, created by genius and the popular will, with one which pleaded the *jus divinum*, and pointed back with mailed hand to generations of undisputed authority. France backed Russia unrighteously and shamefully in the scheme of provincial union, although it was as clear to the French government as to that of England, Austria, or Turkey, that it would not promote the freedom of the provinces, and that the ends of Russia would alone be answered by such a measure. It had been agreed at Paris by the plenipotentiaries that the opinion of the inhabitants should be taken as to the future government of those countries, and that "the powers" should not interfere with the expression of this opinion in any way. Russia at once violated this compact, as she does every agreement into which she enters; for her agents were forthwith set to work, and the Greek priests of the provinces became also her agents, to incite the people in favour of the plan upon which she had set her heart. It was France, however, that first *publicly* violated the agreement. Counts Walewski and Morny once more conspired to counteract Turkish and English views. The *Moniteur* announced the opinion of the French government. This was done in a tone of insolent braggadocio, resembling very much an imperial decree. It was met, however, by the English government by quiet, dignified, but firm remonstrance; and from that hour the English ministry, before neutral, took its course against the union. The English press also noticed, in a defiant tone, the grandiloquent announcements of the *Moniteur* and the other Parisian journals. The

spirit of the British government and press caused the French government and press to recede from their bold and imperious tone. The Austrian government, and the press of Vienna, emboldened by the example of England, declared the fixed resolution of the emperor to resist the pro-Russian measure. The Walewski-Morny gang of politicians by whom the French imperial throne was so unworthily surrounded were alarmed at the decided stand of the three great powers, but did not abandon their intrigues. Russia maintained a more astute policy than France, avoiding such overt acts as would further outrage the indignant feelings of the Austrian court, cabinet, and army, or of the English government and people.

Prussia during all this turmoil worked with what little influence she had for Russia and France. She cared nothing about the union of "the provinces," but she hated Austria, feared France, loved Russia; as France and Russia were on one side, and England and Austria on the other, and she had most to apprehend from the former two powers, she used the small modicum of her influence once more against the latter. Sardinia had been so flattered by Russia, and was in a position of such natural hostility to Austria, that her moral power was also against Turkey; still, the court and cabinet of Turin behaved with justice, moderation, and good taste throughout the controversy.

In this embroglio the Belgian government incurred most disgrace. Throughout the war the minister of that power offered impotent but malicious affront to the allies at Constantinople. The individual himself, as well as the government he represented, was, politically, too contemptible for France and England to take notice of either; besides, it was the interest of the French emperor to see an ultramontane government at Brussels much more than it was an inconvenience to have an ambassador of that government at Constantinople sympathising with the Russian autocrat. The king of the Belgians was the uncle of the Queen of England, and also of her consort, and the king himself was said to be embarrassed by the despotic principles of the government forced upon him by a parliamentary majority, whose representative the ambassador at the Turkish court might be considered. At last, in May, 1857, the intrigues of the Belgian ambassador to disturb the provinces led to his expulsion from Constantinople by the Turkish government, and made him the laughing-stock of so many members of the diplomatic corps of that capital as thought it worth while to laugh at him. It was, however, believed in Northern and Western Europe that the King of the Belgians was not so much opposed

to the conduct of his ostensible envoy as he himself wished to be believed in Paris and in London. A desire to see the provinces united, for the purpose of their entire separation from the government of the sultan, was attributed to the Belgian king. His motive in wishing their entire independence was said to be the appointment of his second son, the Count of Flanders, to the sovereignty. The King of Prussia was in favour of this scheme; and as a marriage between the Princess Charlotte of Belgium and an Austrian grand-duke was on the tapis, it was thought that the opposition of the kasir to the union of the provinces would be mollified by the prospect of their independence under a Belgian prince. Russia and France saw through the flimsy veil by which Belgium affected to cover her policy, and they accordingly used the agents of that government as if they had been their own, repudiating them when it was necessary or convenient.

The French emperor was supposed to be playing a similar game to that so absurdly played by the King of the Belgians. The emperor wanted for Prince Napoleon a kingdom somewhere, and it was supposed the principalities would suit him. The prince and the emperor were probably not of the same mind. It would be easier for a scion of the house of Cobourg to accommodate his conscience to the Greek rite than for the Prince Napoleon to do so.

Whatever might be the separate interests of the czar, the Emperor of the French, and the King of the Belgians, their policy was not conflicting—they played into one another's hands, but all lost. The firmness of the Pal-

merston cabinet defeated all the wiles and machinations of these *intrigantes*. The Austrian and Turkish governments were encouraged by the decision of England, and France again gave way after much bluster and some arrogance. Count Walewski was a very unfortunate minister, and proved himself utterly unable to cope with Lord Clarendon. Were it not for the superior ability of the emperor himself, the French government would have been the easy dupes of Russia, and France would have been committed to a policy at once humiliating and destructive. The English government finally conceded the judicial and commercial union of the provinces, but this was, in fact, to soothe the offended vanity of the French politicians, for England never had any motive or desire to resist the application to either province of a judicial and commercial system applicable to both; her objection was to a political union—a blending of the two states into one, so as to subvert the national designs of Russia, or the personal designs of any of the petty princes of Christendom, against the integrity of the Turkish empire, for which she had so bravely battled and bled.

The termination of this struggle concerning the Dacian provinces was the termination of the diplomatic and actual history of the war.

One more chapter shall be devoted to home, and to a single event at home—an event which, from its domestic appeal to our patriotic sympathies, more appropriately closes our story than could a record of diplomatic craft and foreign intrigue.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE VICTORIA CROSS, THE BADGE OF THE NEW ORDER OF VALOUR, IN HYDE PARK, BY THE QUEEN IN PERSON, IN THE PRESENCE OF HER TROOPS AND PEOPLE.—CLOSE OF THIS HISTORY.

"For valour."—*Inscription on the Victoria Cross.*

THE bestowment of the Victoria Cross by her majesty in person, in the presence of her troops, was looked forward to with the deepest interest by the recipients, the army, and the general public. The badge itself was unworthy of the occasion, and of the order of which it was the symbol. It was poor in appearance, and the conception was without dignity. It consisted of a cross cast from the metal of cannon captured from the enemy, bearing as the effigy a coarse design of the lion and crown, and on the lower part of the perpendicular bar a scroll, with the words "FOR VALOUR." The execution was rude, and its whole appearance was regarded both by the army and the public

with displeasure.* Friday, the 26th of June, 1857, was appointed as the day for the distribution of these tokens of the esteem in which her majesty and her people held the bravest of their brave. The place selected for the celebration was only appropriate because of its local and historic associations. In every other respect it was the worst that could be possibly selected. The quartermaster-general thought

* A witty satirist thus cleverly wrote concerning it:—

THE PLAIN CROSS OF VALOUR.

"Here's Valour's Cross, my men; 'twill serve,
Though rather ugly—take it.
John Bull a medal can deserve,
But can't contrive to make it."

otherwise, and he was supported by a portion of the press. The *Daily News*, generally so impartial and accurate, described the position thus:—"For some days previous to the ceremonial, opinions had been freely expressed that Hyde Park was not the best site for its celebration, but in our judgment it presented more of the requisites and fewer of the drawbacks for such a pageant than the Horse-guards' Parade, which is in the centre of the heat and dust of the town, is circumscribed in extent, and has exceeding narrow means of ingress and egress, matters of deep importance whenever great crowds of people are to be collected. Hyde Park, in short, looked exceedingly well as seen through the mellow mist of a mid-summer morning, with its bronze Achilles in the foreground pointing to the scene of the review, its wide expanse of grassy plain, its clumps of fine trees, and its ever-moving crowd, all converging in long streams towards the great centre of attraction." This language fairly represents the views of those who approved of the quartermaster-general's selection. The site chosen was somewhat convex; the parade of the Horse Guards is not in the centre of the smoke and dust of the town, and the means of exit from St. James's Park were numerous and ample, while the nature of the ground around the grand parade of the Horse Guards would have afforded a far greater number of persons an opportunity of witnessing the scene. However, the site chosen was not made the most of. The praises accorded by the *Morning Chronicle*, *Morning Post*, *Daily News*, and other daily papers, to the accommodation provided for the people were not merited by the authorities, while the censures lavished upon them by the *Times* and *Morning Advertiser* undoubtedly were deserved. The arrangements for the privileged public to whom tickets were given were described by the *Daily News* as "a line of convenient open galleries running along the whole length of the ground, and capable of accommodating from ten to twelve thousand persons." "These galleries—or pens, as they might be called—were, except the three central ones, without seats, an omission which caused serious inconvenience, and was much remarked on. On the other hand, their admirable viewing capabilities, and the strength of their construction reflected great credit on Sir Benjamin Hall, and the staff of the board of works by whom the right honourable baronet's judicious arrangements were carried out." As the author of this book possessed a peer's ticket, and traversed nearly the whole line of the galleries, very well described as "pens," he can aver that it would be utterly impossible to contrive any arrangement for the ostensible accommodation of that portion of the public for which it was designed more awkward and

unsuitable. As there were no seats, tall men—officers with their helmets and shakos among them—occupied front places, while in the centre and at the top of the "pens" or galleries delicate ladies, aged persons, and others of low stature, could see no more of the glorious transactions of the day than the vendors of lemonade and ginger beer, who moved to and fro in the rear of the unprivileged crowd, who were left to push their own way as best they could to a view of the field. Had there been seats, ladies, the aged, and the feeble, could have taken front positions, which would have been readily conceded, while the tall and strong would have had an equally good view from the rear. The galleries being on an inclined plane of coarse planking, without seats, those behind pressed upon those before, under the fiercest sun that for forty years had shone upon London, and ladies of the highest distinction suffered much. The galleries ran along in straight lines to the right and left of that provided for her majesty and suite (which she did not enter); and as she did not move far forward into the field for the purpose of the distribution, only a few hundred persons out of the 16,000 who were "accommodated" in the horse-boxes called galleries had even a glimpse of the august ceremonial.

The distribution of the cross was made the occasion for a grand review of the troops in London who could be spared from the routine duties of the garrison, and such regiments as the authorities chose to bring up from Aldershot. In this matter the secretary of war showed an unfair partiality to his countrymen. The 79th Highlanders were honoured with a post on the occasion, although the regiment had seen comparatively little service during the Crimean campaign, while the 19th, the 88th, and other regiments at Aldershot which had borne the brunt of war, were not called upon to partake in the glory of the occasion. No corps in the service was more ready to do its duty—no men in the army were more forward to serve her majesty in the field or the breach than her gallant Highlanders, for when did Scotsmen ever turn their back upon a foe? but in this particular celebration those regiments were most entitled to take part who had suffered and performed most in the actual conflict. The men reviewed consisted of the household cavalry and infantry, some troops of horse artillery, the Enniskillen Dragoons, 11th Hussars, 79th Highlanders, Rifle Brigade, a battalion of the Royal Marines, detachments of engineers, sappers, and miners, ambulance, army works, and land-transport corps, about 200 sailors, the Chelsea pensioners, and the boys of the Duke of York's Military School and of the Royal Naval School. The whole were under the command of Sir Colin Camp-

bell: the artillery was commanded by Sir W. F. Williams, Bart., of Kars; the infantry by Lords de Ros and William Paulet; the Earl of Cardigan had charge of the cavalry.

From the early hour of seven o'clock the populace poured to the field in vast streams by every thoroughfare which conducted to the park; and long before the hour appointed for the ceremony the stands set apart for the nobility, gentry, and officers not on duty, were filled to inconvenience, fashionable crowds in vain resorting to importunity to conquer the obstructive fidelity of the police for a place within the enclosures.

The royal "stand" was profusely decorated, and chairs of state were placed within it. In front of it stood a table covered with scarlet cloth, and the crosses were strewn upon it. The troops were drawn up in line, the centre being opposite to the place set apart for her majesty. The cavalry occupied her majesty's left; next to them the household infantry; then the engineers, sappers and miners, Highlanders, Rifle Brigade, sailors, and marines. The Guards occupied the flanks. The boys of the military and naval schools were placed on the flanks at right angles with the artillery. The pensioners of Chelsea Hospital were drawn up in line upon her majesty's right as spectators; the position assigned to them was in front of what may be called the grand stand, occupied by those of the public who had tickets—a very inconvenient arrangement, as they intercepted the view of those who stood lowest within the enclosure. Many of these veterans wore medals, badges of honour for their participation in the Peninsular struggle, and the Belgian and French campaign of 1815, and some for services in India. The appearance of the troops was very fine; many of them were bronzed with the sun of the Crimea, and the younger men with that of the camp at Aldershot. Among the spectators was a large number of veterans, whose breasts were covered with decorations—the badges of high military orders, as well as medals commemorative of great battles or important campaigns. The position of the mass of the people was remote, and not one in a thousand could catch so much as a glimpse of the grand ceremonial.

Immediately in front of the royal pavilion was drawn up the line of heroes—sixty-two in number—upon whom the honorary reward was about to be conferred. They were marshalled by Lieutenant Knox, of the Rifle Brigade, whose breast was a blaze of military decorations, and whose empty sleeve showed that he had lost an arm in defence of his queen and country. He was the object of very especial interest and sympathy; and even the titled and aristocratic persons who crowded the position at which the author of these pages was

favoured with a place, not only regarded Lieutenant Knox with sympathy, but commented freely upon the circumstance of such a man still remaining a subaltern. The names and rank in the service of these recipients of the Victoria Cross were as follow:—

ROYAL NAVY.

(Including the Naval Brigade employed on Shore.)

Commander Henry James Kaby.
Commander John Bythesca (Baltic).
Commander Hugh Tulbot Burgoyne.
Lieutenant Charles Davis Lucas (Baltic).
Lieutenant William Nathan Wright Hewett.
Mr. John Roberts, gunner.
Mr. Joseph Kellaway, boatswain.
Mr. Henry Cooper, boatswain.
Joseph Trewavas, seaman.
Thomas Reeves, seaman.
Henry Curtis, boatswain's mate.
George Ingouville, captain of the mast (Baltic).

ROYAL MARINES.

First Lieutenant George Dare Dowell (Baltic).
Thomas Wilkinson, bombardier.

THE ARMY.

2nd Dragoons.—Sergeant-major John Grieve.
4th Dragoons.—Private Samuel Parkes.
11th Hussars.—Lieutenant Alexander Robert Dunn (late of).
17th Lancers.—Troop-sergeant-major John Perryman.
Royal Artillery.—Colonel Collingwood Dickson, C.B.; Captain Andrew Henry, quartermaster (late of the Land Transport Corps); Captain Gronow Davis; Sergeant Daniel Cambridge; Gunner and Driver Thomas Arthur.
Royal Engineers.—Lieutenant Gerald Graham; Corporal John Ross; Corporal William J. Lendrum; Sapper John Perie.
Grenadier Guards.—Colonel the Hon. H. Hugh Manvers Percy; Brevet-major Sir Charles Russell, Bart.; Sergeant Alfred Ablett; Private Anthony Palmer.
Coldstream Guards.—Brevet-major Gerald Littlehales Goodlake; Brevet-major John Augustus Conolly (late of the 49th regiment); Private George Strong.
Scots Fusilier Guards.—Brevet-major Robert James Lindsay; Sergeant James McKechnie; Private William Reynolds.
4th Regiment.—Private Thomas Grady.
7th Regiment.—Lieutenant William Hope (late of); Assistant-surgeon Thomas Egerton Hale, M.D.; Private Matthew Hughes; Private William Norman.
8th Regiment.—Ensign Andrew Moynihan.
19th Regiment.—Private Samuel Evans; Private John Lyons.
23rd Regiment (A.).—Lieutenant Luke O'Connor; Corporal Robert Shields (late of).
34th Regiment.—Private William Coffey; Private John Sims (late of).
44th Regiment.—Sergeant William McWheneey.
49th Regiment.—Sergeant George Walters (late of); Corporal James Owens.
57th Regiment.—Brevet-major Charles Henry Lumley; Sergeant John Coleman.
Rifle Brigade, 1st Battalion.—Brevet-major the Hon. Henry H. Clifford; Private Francis Wheatley.
Rifle Brigade, 2nd Battalion.—Captain William James Cunningham; Lieutenant John Knox; Private Roderick McGregor; Private Robert Humpston; Private Joseph Bradshaw.
Rifle Brigade, 3rd Battalion.—Brevet-major Claude Thomas Bouchier.

Royal Navy	12
Royal Marines	2
The Army	48

Grand total for both services . . . 62

While all those gallant men attracted the notice of the troops, and of the privileged few who were in a position to see them distinctly, some more particularly drew attention as well as Lieutenant Knox. One of these was a man named Shields, a park-keeper. He had been in the 23rd (Royal Welsh Fusileers). His dress as a park-keeper made him conspicuous, and led to inquiries concerning his services. He received the decoration for going out three times under a desperate fire to carry in wounded officers. A policeman, numbered 444 in the R division, also by his garb attracted the notice of the public, and many inquiries were made concerning his services. He had been a soldier in the 49th regiment, and repeatedly distinguished himself by acts of intrepidity; among them an act of heroism similar to those which made Shields the object of public honour. Lieutenant Hewett received more particular notice from her majesty than any other upon whose breast she placed the badge of this most honourable order. It will be recollected by the readers of this History, that this officer behaved most heroically in the siege of Sebastopol. He commanded the Lancaster battery, and when, in a moment of peril, the Russians advancing upon his flank, and the British infantry retiring, he was ordered to spike his remaining gun and retreat, he, doubting that such an order came from his superior, or perhaps affecting to doubt it, refused compliance. Instead of retiring, he broke down part of the parapet of his battery, widened the rest for his gun, and thereby extended the range. He then loaded with grape and canister, and directed the gun upon the advancing Russians, who were swept in whole ranks away by the near and powerful charge of this enormous gun. This heroic and skilful act was the means of retrieving the fortunes of the moment; the British infantry were reinforced and rallied, and the Russians were repulsed: as they retreated, Hewett, with his Lancaster, carried destruction among them. These heroes are particularly named, not because their deserts were greater than those of their gallant comrades in honour, but because they were more noticed by the general public, and one of them at least by her majesty. Our space does not permit us to recount the deeds of all.

Her majesty quitted Buckingham Palace about a quarter to 10 o'clock. The royal procession left the garden entrance in the following order:—

His Royal Highness the Prince Consort.	Her Majesty the Queen.	Prince Frederick William of Prussia.
Lady Churchill.		The Prince of Wales.
Lady Codrington.		Prince Alfred.
Colonel F. H. Seymour.		Baron de Moltke.
		Lieutenant Cowell.

Her majesty, the Prince Consort, and the remainder of the above, were on horseback,

and on reaching Constitution Hill were joined by the carriage procession, which had been formed in the quadrangle of the palace and which consisted of—

An open carriage and four, conveying the Duchess of Kent, the Duchess of Cambridge, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Alice.

An open carriage and four, conveying the Princesses Helena and Louisa, and the Princess Mary of Cambridge, and the Marchioness of Ely, lady in waiting.

An open carriage and four, conveying Prince Arthur and Prince Leopold, Lady Caroline Barrington, Lady Superintendent, and Lady Augusta Bruce, Lady in Waiting to the Duchess of Kent.

An open carriage and four, conveying the Prince of Leinengen, Lady Geraldine Somerset, Lady in Waiting to the Duchess of Cambridge, and the Honourable Eleanor Stanley and the Honourable Louisa Gordon, Maids of Honour in Waiting.

An open carriage and four, conveying Lord de Tabley, Lord in Waiting, Lieutenant-colonel F. Cavendish, Groom in Waiting, Colonel Sir George Couper, Equerry in Waiting to the Duchess of Kent, and Major Baron Knesebeck, Equerry in Waiting to the Duchess of Cambridge.

Lord Alfred Paget, Clerk Marshal, Major-general the Hon. C. Grey, and Lord Charles Fitzroy, Equeries to the Queen, and Captain du Plat, Equerry to the Prince Consort, were in attendance on horseback. A detachment of the Royal Horse Guards formed the escort of the Queen.

At eight minutes to ten, the firing of a royal salute by the artillery announced that her majesty was entering Hyde Park. This was the signal that the grand incident of the day had commenced, and the excitement ran through the line of troops, and along the dense dark circle of the populace, who were well described as "the frame of the picture." The order in which the Royal *cortège* entered the park was as follows:—

Captain Sayer,	
Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General.	
Detachment of Royal Horse Guards.	
The Sovereign's led horses.	
Aides-de-camp to the General Commanding-in-Chief,	
Lieutenant-Colonel Maude (extra).	
Lieutenant-Colonel Lord	Lieutenant-Colonel
Burghersh,	Clifton,
Colonel Tyrwhitt,	Hon. Colonel Macdonald.
Aides-de-camp to the Queen,	
Col. Marquis of Ailesbury,	Colonel Patten,
Colonel Duke of Buccleuch,	Colonel Lord Dynevor,
Col. Marquis of Donegal,	Colonel Holloway,
	Colonel His Serene Highness Prince W. A. of Saxe Weimar,
Colonel Lake,	
Colonel J. W. Gordon,	Colonel Sir T. Troubridge.
Deputy Quartermaster-General to the Forces.	Deputy Adjutant-General to the Forces,
Hon. Colonel A. Gordon.	Colonel Forster.

Equerries to the Queen, and to his Royal Highness Prince Albert, in Waiting.

Military Secretary,	Quartermaster-General,
Major-General Sir C. Yorke,	Major-Gen. Sir R. Airey.
Adjutant-General Royal Artillery,	Adjutant-General of the Forces,
General Sir H. D. Ross,	Maj.-Gen. Sir G. Wetherall.
His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief.	
H.K.H.	Her Majesty Prince Frederick the QUEEN.
Prince Albert,	William of Prussia.
Gold Stick.	Master of the Horse.
Lady Churchill.	Prince of Wales.
Lady Codrington.	Prince Alfred.

Royal Carriages,
Conveying Members of the Royal Family, each attended by an Equerry.

General Officers.
Foreign General Officers,
and

Equerries and Attendants upon Foreign Princes,

Assistant Adjutant-General to the Forces.	Two and Two.	Assistant Quartermaster-General to the Forces.
Lieut.-Colonel Pipon.	Royal Artillery.	Colonel O'Brien.
Colonel Palliser.	Lieut.-Colonel Bingham.	
Lords-Lieutenant of Counties in Uniform,	Two and Two.	

Royal Carriages if empty.
Detachment of Royal Horse Guards.

The cavalcade passed up in front of the "stands" occupied by the holders of tickets; and certainly seldom if ever had so brilliant a display been made by a royal procession. Her majesty sat with dignity a beautiful roan horse. On her right hand rode Prince William of Prussia, and on her left "the Royal Consort," as Prince Albert was, that day for the first time, legally designated* in public. He rode

* In the *Gazette* of Friday evening, the 26th of June, the following appeared:—

"At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 25th day of June, 1857. Present, the Queen's most excellent Majesty in Council:

"Whereas there was this day read at the board the draft of letters patent, conferring upon his Royal Highness Prince Albert the title and dignity of Prince Consort, her Majesty, having taken the same into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of her Privy Council, to approve thereof, and to order, as it is hereby ordered, that the Right Honourable Sir George Grey, Bart., one of her Majesty's principal secretaries of state, do cause a warrant to be prepared for her Majesty's signature, for passing letters patent conformable to the said draft under the great seal of Great Britain.

"WM. L. BATHURST."

At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 25th day of June, 1857. Present the Queen's most excellent Majesty in Council:

"Whereas, by the Act of Uniformity, which establisheth the Liturgy, and enacts that no form or order of common prayer be openly used other than what is prescribed or appointed to be used in and by the said book, it is notwithstanding provided that, in all those prayers, litanies, and collects, which do anywise relate to the King, Queen, or royal progeny, the names be altered and changed from time to time, and fitted to the present occasion, according direction of lawful authority: her Majesty was pleased this day in council to declare her royal will and pleasure, that in all the prayers, litanies, and collects for the royal family, the words 'the Prince Consort' be inserted instead of the words 'the Prince Albert.'

"And her Majesty doth strictly charge and command that no edition of the Common Prayer be from henceforth printed but with this amendment; and that in the meantime, till copies of such editions may be had, all parsons, vicars, and curates within this realm do (for the preventing of mistakes), with the pen, correct and

a splendid bay horse, and wore the uniform of a field-marshal. Her majesty was attended by a long line of general officers among the most distinguished in her empire or in the world. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge was very conspicuous by his burly figure and his flowing beard. As commander-in-chief of her majesty's land forces, he occupied a prominent place in the arrangements of the day, and was greeted by the most enthusiastic cheers, dividing the applause of the multitude even with her majesty, warmly and loyally as she was received. It was a subject of general remark that no man deserved the Victoria Cross more than his royal highness, for his intrepid conduct at Inkerman (which has been recorded fully in the appropriate page of this History). The veteran field-marshal Viscount Combermere, and the amiable and intrepid General Viscount Gough were much noticed by the people among the heroes in her majesty's suite. Sir Colin Campbell looked old and service-stricken. Sir W. F. Williams became his artillery uniform, and was an object of general interest. The Earl of Cardigan, in a brilliant hussar dress, attracted much attention; he rode the celebrated horse which bore him, in his gallant and desperate charge, at the battle of Balaklava.

The observed of all observers was her majesty. She looked particularly well, and wore a low hat, adorned with a beautiful plume, a scarlet tunic, and a dark blue skirt. It did not strike us that the tunic became her; it was too much like the awkward garment which her foot guards have received as a substitute for the coatee. The cavalcade passed round the whole field, and it will be readily believed that never probably before was a military review in England so dazzling and exciting when all the accessories of the occasion are considered. After the first cheers which welcomed the arrival on the ground of the heroic members of the new order, her majesty, the royal children, and the Duke of Cambridge, silence was maintained, nor were there any noisy demonstrations when her majesty rode away from the field. After her majesty and suite had completed the circuit of the field, she placed herself before the table upon which the crosses were arranged. It was expected that she would dismount, and occupy the raised position prepared for her, so as to be full in view of her army and people. In this respect, as in almost every other, the arrangements were unhappy and unpopular. Her majesty remained on horseback during amend all such prayers in their church books, according to the foregoing directions. And, for the better notice hereof, that this order be forthwith printed and published, and sent to the several parishes; and that the Right Reverend the Bishops do take care that obedience be paid to the same accordingly.

"WM. L. BATHURST."

the distribution; and being mounted on a small horse, while her consort, a tall man, was mounted on an immense charger, the young Prince William of Prussia also riding high, and the Duke of Cambridge, with many other officers, very large men, mounted on huge horses, were clustered near her, it was impossible for the people to see anything of the distribution. Those who occupied the galleries, which Sir Benjamin Hall had so badly arranged, were not much better situated in this respect than the people who extemporised stands around the field. The rear of a mass of large officers on large horses was all that could be discerned. Occasionally, as the Duke of Cambridge or some other general officer broke away from the group, a slight space was left through which her majesty's back could be perceived as she bent down to append the cross upon the breasts of the brave men, who marched up in single file to where she was stationed. The disappointment of the people of all ranks was great, and loud murmurs ran along the line, which must have been audible to her majesty's suite. It was only by desperate efforts that the members of the order could be seen to approach her majesty, or rather near to where she was, and emerge again with their badge of merit, their exultation, and their glory. Had the whole spectacle been got up for the pleasure of the Prince Consort and Prince William of Prussia, then the arrangements of Quartermaster-general Airey, the Hon. Colonel Gordon, and Sir Benjamin Hall would have been intelligible. Certainly those two royal persons alone fully beheld it, for even the ladies, gentlemen, and officers in the queen's suite could scarcely do more than catch a glimpse as her majesty with her own hands suspended the cross upon the breast of each, and the prince saluted him as he passed close to his horse.

When the bestowment of the crosses terminated, the recipients again drew up in line in front of her majesty. The queen and her attendants also formed into line, and the troops were marched past in slow time, the colours being lowered as they were borne past her majesty, who raised her hand to her hat, and saluted *à la militaire*. As the sailors marched by they took off their hats, and Jack seemed more at home in that ceremony than in keeping either the line of march or the step. Her majesty bowed her head in a marked and gracious manner as the tars uncovered. The infantry again marched by in quick time, and the cavalry wheeled and charged past her majesty, performing this evolution in a style which elicited universal praise. The marines were the favourites of the day; their appearance, order, and movements were such as could scarcely be surpassed. The bands played some

appropriate airs—the band of each regiment taking up a position opposite to her majesty while the corps to which it belonged marched past. The Guards played “See the conquering Hero comes!” the Highlanders, “Auld Lang Syne;” the Rifles played the fine “March of the Rifle Brigade;” and the Marines, “Rule, Britannia!” The quick marches were not national tunes, but pieces selected from various operas. The desirableness on such occasions of performing only popular and national pieces, although obvious, was not kept in view by those who had the direction of these matters.

When the troops had completed their last evolutions, her majesty and her splendid *cortège* left the ground. The troops then marched out of Hyde Park in different directions, each corps to its quarters. It was calculated that 100,000 persons were assembled within the park. In Park Lane the windows, balconies, and even house-tops, were filled with spectators. Not an accident was reported in connection with the assemblage and dispersion of these vast multitudes. A few of the infantry soldiers fell out of line, in consequence of the great heat, but all of them were enabled to rejoin their ranks. As the regiments left the ground they were accompanied by vast bodies of the people, who “fraternised” with the soldiery. The bands of the regiments favoured troops and people with a great deal of German music, to which no attention was paid; national airs would have gratified both, and stirred up the patriotism of the people. The Enniskillen Dragoons, and the Rifles were chiefly composed of Irishmen, but the bands did not adventure upon a single air peculiar to Ireland, although so many of the national melodies of that country are so finely adapted to the quick march.

As the men just inducted to the new order of valour dispersed, the desire of the people to see them individually, and to touch the Victoria Cross, was as amusing as it was intense; the disappointment felt at the appearance of the decoration was compensated by the manly bearing of the decorated, and no words could convey any adequate representation of the popular interest in these brave men.

Her majesty, on her way from the park to Buckingham Palace, was greeted by the multitude with the usual loyal demonstrations. Crowds remained in the park and in the avenues to the palace during the remainder of the day, as her majesty was expected to drive out among her people. This expectation was fulfilled. The Queen, Prince Arthur, and the Princess Louisa, attended by the Hon. Louisa Gordon, drove round Hyde Park in an open carriage and four, Lord Alfred Paget and Major-general the Hon. C. Grey attending on horseback. The Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, Prince Alfred, the

Princess Alice, and Prince Frederick William of Prussia, attended by Lady Caroline Barrington, the Hon. Eleanor Stanley, Colonel F. B. Seymour, and Baron Moltke, also drove out in carriages.

The whole day was given to festivity; the troops were regaled in their barracks, the clubs were scenes of gaiety, invitations were given by the nobility and by general officers, and the queen had a grand dinner-party in the evening. The company included the Duchess of Kent, the Princess Royal, Prince Frederick William of Prussia, the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, the Duke of Newcastle and Lady Susan Pelham Clinton, Marquis and Marchioness of Abercorn, Lady Augusta Bruce, the Countess Cowley, Lord and Lady Lyndhurst, the Dean of Windsor and the Hon. Mrs. Wellesley, Major-general Sir George Wetherall, Sir John Logan, Baron Moltke, and many other fashionable and eminent persons. During dinner the band of the 1st Life Guards played the following pieces:—

Grand March of the 1st Life Guards	. Duchess of Kent.
Overture, "Jubel"	. Conradi.
Selection, "Il Barbiere di Siviglia"	. Rossini.
Quadrille, "Le Prophète"	. Coote.
Fantaisie, "Une Soirée d'Ete"	. Dunkler.
Galop	. Lieders.

The more public incidents of that day were thus eloquently noticed by a writer in the *Daily News*, and published the day following:—"Yesterday Hyde Park witnessed probably the last ceremony designed to do honour to the soldiers of the Crimea. This closing scene of the great war was worthy of the exploits it commemorated and the valour it rewarded. As a mere spectacle, the ceremonial seemed to us hardly so interesting as the distribution which took place in St. James's Park about a year ago. Now almost every trace of the war has ceased. The wounded have had their wounds healed, have retired from the service, or have succumbed to the effects of their injuries. Some are park-keepers; some are policemen; others are embarked in various professions. But a year ago it was not so: the scars of war were still visible; the wounds were yet bleeding. There were men, some with haggard looks, some painfully borne on crutches, and some, like Sir Thomas Troubridge, wheeled to the very feet of the queen in Bath chairs, having lost both limbs, but yesterday all was new and gorgeous, happy and peaceful. There was no sense of perils escaped and difficulties surmounted. The whole scene was little more than a military Ascot. As the regiments marched by her majesty on horseback there were no scorched and battered shakos, no tattered coats, no grimed and toil-worn visages, to recall the moving accidents of a winter campaign. It was quite another scene from that which

London witnessed when the queen, from the balcony of Buckingham Palace, welcomed her Guards, with shouts and waving handkerchiefs, from the glory and the bayoc of the East. Still, if the interest felt in the ceremony yesterday was not so overwhelming, it was by no means inconsiderable. Let any man read the *Gazette* which relates the gallant exploits of those men who have been decorated with the Victoria Cross for personal valour, and he will at once acknowledge that any army which can boast of such soldiers contains materials out of which the finest army in the world may be formed. If anything is wanting, it is not personal bravery or physical power. Who has not heard of Sergeant-major Berryman? With his horse shot under him, he stopped in the field with Captain Webb amidst a storm of shot and shell, and, although told again and again by that officer to consult his own safety, and leave him, he preferred to remain until, Sergeant Farrel coming to his aid, he carried Captain Webb out of the range of the guns. Or who has not heard of Sergeant McWheneey, who, returning after a repulse to seek for his wounded comrade, took him on his back, and brought him to a place of safety under a heavy fire? This, too, was the man who brought another wounded comrade from under fire, and dug up a slight cover with his bayonet, where the two remained until dark, when they both retired in safety. It was for such men as these that the new order of valour was created, and such men as these are surely fit recipients of the new reward. In this respect the British army needs no improvement; what the public have to insist upon is that professional education be henceforth deemed an essential to the officers, and made as sure a passport to promotion as conspicuous gallantry now is both to officers and men."

Thus terminated the last event strictly connected with the war, in which England suffered much, achieved much, incurred well-merited reproach, and obtained a renown equally well deserved. Her disasters she was able to repair, and rapidly repaired them; the glory she gained was lasting and world-wide. The moral and material effects upon the British empire and upon the empire of the vanquished czar were peculiar, and in their nature such as to enhance the power and vindicate the policy of Great Britain, while they humbled the autocrat, repressed the ambitious impulse of his people, crippled their aggressive energy, and exposed and defeated the Muscovite policy, so long predominant in Europe. How all this was wrought out we have step by step endeavoured to show with impartiality and truth, and if jealous for our armies or our allies, we have never in these pages been unjust to our enemies. No fear of man and no

partiality prevented the exposure of ignorance, indolence, incompetence, or indifference on the part of generals or statesmen, and no grudging praise has been bestowed on the officers and soldiers whose valour saved the empire, or the statesmen whose skill afforded to valour scope for that salvation.

The Author may now bid his readers a grateful farewell. For the wide-spread favour which his work has received during the two years occupied in writing it, he offers his heartfelt thanks, and among the very numerous letters of approval from men of all ranks and classes, civil and military, which he has received, many will be treasured by him. It is a satisfaction to him to know that, while royal and military chiefs have been among his patrons, the private soldier has honoured him, in every arm and every regiment of the service, by subscribing to this work. It will always be a source to him of pride and pleasure to remember the circumstance of his being introduced by one well-known general officer to another as "the

Soldier's Friend." But who that knows the noble qualities of the British soldier is not his friend?

Of his readers in the Army the author takes his leave, perhaps to renew their acquaintance in again recounting the true stories of the campaign and combat:—not, it is to be hoped, in connection with wars yet to be waged, but with the achievements of English chivalry in other fields of past conflict, where there was also much glory.

For this Work the Author pleads the indulgence of the Army, and the sympathy of all who can form a conception of the difficulty for a civilian, or even a military man, to write well a history of war, with all its chances and changes, its political influences and civil complications. Truth and impartiality have cost the author sacrifices which he does not regret, but which make it the more incumbent upon him to offer his thanks to all his Subscribers and Friends, now that his task is done, and—"Othello's occupation's gone."

THE END.

THE
ILLUSTRATED HISTORY
OF
THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA.

BY
E. H. NOLAN, Ph.D., LL.D.

“Now all the youth of England are on fire,
And silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies;
Now thrive the armourers; and honour's thought
Reigns solely in the breast of every man.

* * * * *

O, England! model to thy inward greatness,
Like little body with a mighty heart,
What mightst thou do, that honour would thee do?”

SHAKSPERE. *Henry V.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
JAMES S. VIRTUE, CITY ROAD, AND IVY LANE.

TO THE GENERAL, HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
PRINCE GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERIC CHARLES,
DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE;

EARL OF TIPPERARY, BARON CULLODEN, KNIGHT OF THE GARTER, KNIGHT OF ST. PATRICK,
KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE BATH, GRAND MASTER OF THE ORDER OF
ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE, KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE
ROYAL HANOVERIAN GUELPHIC ORDER, ETC., ETC.,
AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF HER
MAJESTY'S LAND FORCES.

THERE is a peculiar propriety in dedicating to your Royal Highness a History of the late War against Russia. No individual beneath the throne is so popular in the Army, especially among the poor and gallant soldiers, as your Royal Highness.

You are at the head of that Army, not only by the appointment of Her Gracious Majesty, but by the desire of the Nation.

Your heroic conduct at Alma, and, if possible, still more especially in the greater perils of Inkerman, have made Queen and Country proud of your name.

The ambition, therefore, to dedicate this Work to your Royal Highness was as natural as your permission is condescending and gracious.

That your Royal Highness may be long spared to govern the Army with the capacity, zeal, and consideration for the soldier so characteristic of your command, is the fervent desire of

Your Royal Highness's

Most obliged, and obedient Servant,

EDWARD H. NOLAN.

LONDON, JULY, 1857.



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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

THE PRINCIPAL INCIDENTS OF THE WAR.

1853.

- MAR. 2. Prince Menschikoff opened up his demands upon the Sultan.
 MAY 21. Prince Menschikoff left Constantinople.
 „ 28. Sultan's diplomatic declaration addressed to the governments of Europe.
 „ 31. Count Nesselrode's demand for material guarantees.
 JUNE 8. British fleet approached the Dardanelles.
 JULY 2. Russian army entered Moldavia.
 OCT. 5. Declaration of war by Turkey against Russia.
 „ 23. Conflict between Turkish and Russian forces at Isakchea.
 „ 28. The Turks crossed the Danube at Kalafat.
 „ 30. British fleet entered the Bosphorus.
 NOV. 4. Battle of Oltenitza—terrible defeat and slaughter of the Russians by Omar Pasha's forces.
 „ 30. Naval Massacre at Sinope.

1854.

- JAN. 2. Treaty of neutrality between the Western and Scandinavian powers.
 „ 4. The fleets of the allies entered the Euxine.
 „ 5. Splendid victory of Citate gained by the Turks over the Russians.
 „ 8. Luders forced his way into the Dobruddela.
 „ 29. The Emperor Napoleon sent an autograph letter to the czar.
 FEB. 9. Emperor Nicholas replied by autograph letter to Napoleon III.
 „ 10. Interview of a deputation from the English Peace Society with the czar.
 „ 23. Departure of the Guards from England.
 MAR. 11. Departure of the Baltic fleet from Spithead.
 „ 19. Embarkation of French troops for Turkey.
 „ 20. French fleet for the Baltic set sail from Brest.
 „ 28. Declaration of war against Russia by the Western sovereigns.
 APR. 14. Russians lay siege to Silistria.
 „ 15. Convention between England, France, and Turkey.
 „ 18. Turkish victory at Rassova.
 „ 20. Austrian and Prussian convention of neutrality.
 „ 22. Bombardment of the batteries of Odessa.
 MAY 28. Allies advanced to Varna.
 JUNE 14. Treaty of Boyadji-Keuy between Turkey and Austria.
 „ 16. Defeat of the Turks at Orzughetti.
 „ 23. The Russians raised the siege of Silistria.
 JULY 7. Desperate battle at Giurgevo, in which the Turks gained a signal victory over the Russians.

- JULY 21. Naval squadrons of the allies off the Crimea.
 „ 28. The Russians driven from the province of Wallachia.—Utter defeat of the Turkish army of Asia by the Russians, at Bayazid.
 „ 30. Arrival in the Baltic of French troops, in English ships.
 AUG. 6. Signal defeat and slaughter of the Turkish army of Asia by the Russians, at Kuyukdere.
 „ 13. Commencement of the siege of Bomarsund.
 „ 16. Surrender of Bomarsund, and of the general and garrison, as prisoners of war.
 „ 20. An Austrian Army entered the Rouman provinces of Turkey, by virtue of an especial convention.
 „ 21. Bombardment of Kola, in the White Sea, by British ships of war.
 „ 30. Suicide of Admiral Price off Petropaulovski.
 SEPT. 4. Defeat of the allies by the Russian garrison of Petropaulovski.
 „ 5. Embarkation of the allied armies at Varna for the Crimean expedition.
 „ 9. French troops returned home from the expedition to Bomarsund.
 „ 14. Landing of the allies in the Crimea.
 „ 15. The Russians evacuated their only remaining post in Moldavia.
 „ 19. Skirmish at the Bulganak between the Russians and the British horse artillery and cavalry.
 „ 20. Battle of the Alma; total rout of the Russians by the allies.
 „ 23. Russians sank their fleet across the harbour of Sebastopol.
 „ 24. Arrival of General Williams at Kars.
 „ 26. Capture of Balaklava by the British.
 „ 29. Death of Marshal St. Arnaud.
 „ 30. Tottleben began to fortify Sebastopol.
 OCT. 12. Fund for the sick and wounded established by the *Times* newspaper.
 „ 13. Patriotic Fund originated.
 „ 17. First bombardment of Sebastopol.
 „ 23. Departure of Miss Nightingale and other benevolent ladies for Scutari.
 „ 25. Battle and grand cavalry charges at Balaklava. Slaughter in the light cavalry brigade. Death of Captain Nolan.
 „ 26. First battle of Inkerman. An inferior British force, under command of Lieutenant-general Sir de Laey Evans, defeated a large Russian force, driving them back with great slaughter.
 NOV. 5. Second battle of Inkerman. Total defeat of the Russians. Dreadful losses of the British army.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

- Nov. 14. Hurricane in the Crimea. Much loss of shipping and of life. Cruel conduct of the Russians to the shipwrecked.
- „ 20. Battle of the Orens, before Sebastopol.
- DEC. 2. Conclusion of the tripartite treaty between England, France, and Austria.
- „ 22. Sir Edmund Lyons assumed the command of the British fleets in the Mediterranean and Black Seas.
- „ 24. Admiral Bruat took command of the French Black Sea fleet.

1855.

- JAN. 7. Prince Gortschakoff signifies to the cabinet of Vienna the czar's unconditional acceptance of the Four Points, as preliminaries for peace negotiations.
- „ 23. Lord John Russell left the Aberdeen ministry.
- „ 26. Sardinia joined the alliance against Russia.
- „ 29. Appointment of the Sebastopol committee in the British House of Commons.
- „ 31. The Aberdeen Ministry driven from power, by the indignant voice of the British people and parliament.
- FEB. 5. Lord Palmerston at the head of a new British ministry.
- „ 20. Night expedition of Sir Colin Campbell against the Russians on the Tchernaya overtaken by a terrible snow-storm.
- „ 22. The "Pechites" left the Palmerston ministry; great satisfaction of the English people, and increased confidence in the government.
- „ 24. Repulse of the French attack upon the White Works at Sebastopol.
- MAR. 2. Death of the czar.
- „ 4. Lord John Russell arrived at Vienna.
- „ 15. Opening of the Vienna conference.
- „ 22. Formidable sortie of the Russians from Sebastopol repulsed.
- APR. 4. Second expedition to the Baltic left Spithead.
- „ 9. Second bombardment of Sebastopol.
- „ 19. Gallant capture of rifle pits before Sebastopol by the British.
- „ 24. Embarkation of the Sardinian army for the East.
- „ 26. Close of the Vienna conference without deciding upon terms of peace.
- MAY 1. Rifle-pits before Sebastopol captured by the French.
- „ 16. Supereession of General Canrobert, and appointment of General Polissier to the command of the French army.
- „ 22. Conflicts between the French and Russians at the Cemetery, Sebastopol.
- „ 23. Allied expedition to Kertch.
- „ 25. Capture of Kertch and Yenikale by the allies.
- „ 26. Allied squadrons steamed into the Sea of Azoff.
- JUNE 3. Attack by the allied squadrons upon Taganrog.
- „ 5. Russians massacred an English boat's crew under a flag of truce at Ilango.
- „ 6. Third bombardment of Sebastopol.
- „ 8. The Mamelon, Quarries, and White Works captured by the allies.
- „ 9. Unpopular speech by Prince Albert at the Trinity Corporation dinner.

- JUNE 17. Fourth bombardment of Sebastopol.
- „ 18. Grand assault upon Sebastopol by the allies. The French signally defeated at the Malakoff. The British signally defeated at the Redan.—Report of the Sebastopol Committee. Great sensation in England caused by the official and military mismanagement it revealed. Popular indignation against the former (the Aberdeen) administration.
- „ 28. Death of Lord Raglan by cholera.
- JULY 16. Lord John Russell compelled to resign his post in the Palmerston ministry, in consequence of his conduct in the Vienna conference.
- „ 29. Public funeral at Bristol of the remains of Lord Raglan.
- AUG. 9. Bombardment of Sweaborg.
- „ 16. Battle of the Tchernaya. Destructive defeat of the Russians by the allies.
- „ 17. Fifth bombardment of Sebastopol.
- SEPT. 5. Sixth bombardment of Sebastopol.
- „ 8. Storm of Sebastopol.—Terrible defeats of the French by the Russians at the Curtain, the Little Redan, and the left attack. Surprise and capture of the Malakoff, the key of Sebastopol, by the French. Defeat of the British at the Redan.
- „ 9. Allies entered the ruins of Southern Sebastopol.
- „ 24. Expedition to Taman by the allies.
- „ 29. Cavalry action at Eupatoria between the allies and Russians.—The Russian army of the Caucasus, under the command of General Mouravieff, storm Kars, and were defeated by the garrison under General Williams with extraordinary slaughter.
- OCT. 3. Omar Pasha landed at Souchoum Kaleh in command of a Turkish army for the relief of Kars.
- „ 17. Capture of Kinburn by the allies.
- NOV. 6. Battle of the Ingour. Defeat of the Russians by Omar Pasha.
- „ 10. The Czar Alexander II. visited Sebastopol.
- „ 15. Explosion of a French magazine at Sebastopol—great loss of human life and *matériel* of war.
- „ 21. Treaty between Sweden and the Western powers negotiated by General Canrobert.
- „ 25. The garrison of Kars, constrained by famine, surrendered with all the honours of war.
- DEC. 8. Retreat and disorganisation of Omar Pasha's expeditionary army of Asia.

1856.

- JAN. 16. Russia accepted the Austrian terms for a treaty of peace.
- „ 29. The sultan issued a declaration of religious liberty for his empire.
- FEB. 25. Opening of the Paris Peace Congress.
- „ 29. Armistice in the Crimea.
- MAR. 30. Treaty of peace executed at Paris.
- APR. 15. A separate tripartite treaty signed by England, France, and Austria, having for its object the execution of the terms of the treaty of March 30.
- „ 27. Ratification of the treaty of peace, and formal termination of the war.

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